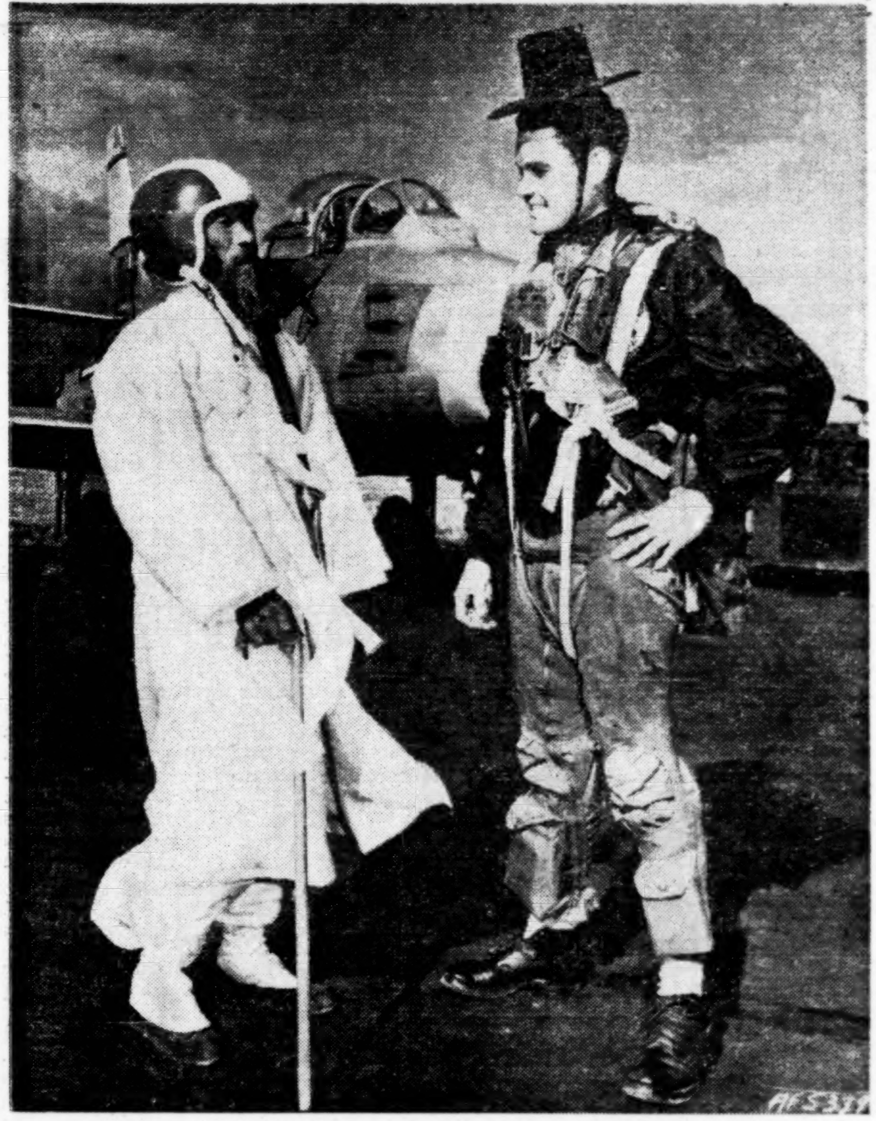
BEGINNING NEXT WEEK: 'WHY THEY WANT TO DEPORT ME' by CEDRIC BELFRAGE



Kut-up Kids in Korea—why we're loved all over

Anything for a laugh, the photographer thought. So he got a young American lieutenant to swap hats with Kim Ho Yong, Korean "papa-san" (cultured elderly gentleman) at the Fifth Air Base. Mr. Kim also had a close-up look at what had been dropping napalm on him and his children and their children.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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THE FIGHT-BACK GOES ON

Government orders Belfrage deported; editor files appeal

IN a 15-page decision dated Dec. 9 the Immigration & Naturalization Service has ordered that GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage be deported to his native England on the charge that he was a Communist in 1937 and 1938. His attorney promptly announced that the fight will now be carried to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, which may take weeks to hand down its ruling.

Noting that the government's action against him—and its unsuccessful attempt to deny him bail—was taken under the Walter-McCarran Act which was enacted over a Presidential veto, Belfrage told reporters last week:

> "The NATIONAL GUARDIAN has fought the Walter-McCarran law from the outset and will continue to fight it until it goes to the ashcan where it belongs. . . . The fight to protect the right of any publication to criticize the government in any way it sees fit—for that is the essence of this fight as we see it—is an enormously costly one, but the many readers and friends of our paper are back of us and we shall carry on the fight as long as we have the resources with which to do so."

POINT "ESTABLISHED": Special Inquiry Officer Aaron I. Maltin, who presided for the government at the deportation hearings which ended last Oct. 12, took two months to prepare his decision. (The transcript of the hearing to determine whether Belfrage was a Communist in 1937-38 covered over 600 pages.) In the decision Maltin relied most heavily on the testimony of one government witness, Lars Skattebol, now a New York newspaper man.

(Continued on Page 4)

The facts behind the China spy case

ON Jan. 22, 1953, China's Premier Chou En-lai lodged a "decisive protest with the Government of the U. S." against violation of China's frontiers by U. S. aircraft for intelligence purposes. He said:

> "On Jan. 12, 1953, at 21:15 hours local time, a U. S. aircraft entered the airspace over northeast China. It was intercepted by Chinese military aircraft and shot down. Eleven Americans on board . . . were taken into custody, among them Col. John Knox Arnold Jr., Commander of the 581st Air Wing of the U. S. Air Force. The aircraft was a B-29, re-equipped for strategic intelligence purposes: the dropping of secret agents to carry out liaison work. . . . The Chinese People's Government hereby warns that [it] will not tolerate such aggressive acts by the U. S. Air Force, and the whole responsibility for all possible consequences with which this act is fraught will lie with the Government of the U. S."

Chou's protest was widely reported at the time in the U. S. press. These 11 Americans are the very ones whom the U. S. last week presented to UN as "UN military personnel" allegedly taken prisoner during normal military operations in Korea, and therefore entitled to repatriation under the armistice.

The fact that China had made this protest was ignored in the UN debate by the U. S. and its supporters. Some delegations were rash enough to say that if China's claim to have captured "spies" were true, it would have made such a protest.

SYRIA ASKS PROOF: Some weeks ago trials of the 11 and two others (John Thomas Downey and Richard Fecteau, captured Nov. 29, 1952, when they allegedly tried to drop supplies to, and make contact with, Chinese agents previously dropped in Liaoning Province), along with nine Chinese agents, began in Peking. Their conviction could hardly have come as a surprise to Washington. But for Washington the timing—on the eve of UN discussion of U. S. participation in Chiang's attacks on, and blockade of, China—was opportune, and it was exploited to the full.

Yet the case of only 11 of the men was brought before UN—perhaps because the U. S. press had already identified Fecteau as a CIA agent. In the whirlwind UN debate the U. S. and its supporters presented no evidence that the men were engaged in Korea combat operations. They simply asserted this, with varying degrees of rudeness and histrionics. But Syria's delegate asked:

> "We need to be convinced by proof, and not by statements. Would any member state agree to be condemned on the strength of a statement pure and simple? Would the U. S. submit to such a charge based on the statement of the Soviet Union? . . . The item discloses fact, and this fact is to be proved."

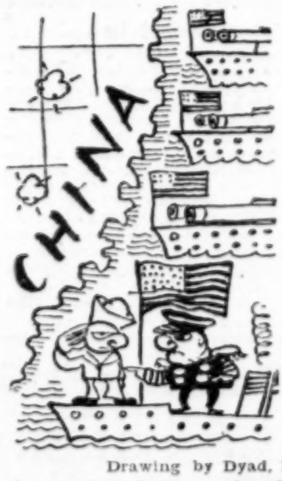
THE EVIDENCE: The U. S. S. R.'s Jacob Malik read from the records of the trials and said:

> "In open court in Peking these American spies confessed they had received special espionage training and that they had also studied methods of waging partisan warfare. . . . All of them testified they had been assigned to the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and that they were in the so-called Air Resupply and Communications Wing: the number of that wing was mentioned, and yesterday the number of the same wing was cited by the U. S. representative. . . . In answer to questions as to the nature of the wing, Arnold declared: 'It is an assignment in addition to performing psychological warfare tasks, consisting of dropping, where necessary supplying, and eventually evacuating, special personnel.'"

The U. S. press has reported that China has placed on exhibit in Peking some 10,000 objects seized from spies dropped from the air since 1951. Malik described this exhibit:

> "Included in the material evidence [against the 11] were weapons, secret codes, and devices for raising men from the ground into aircraft without landing the aircraft . . . now on exhibit in Peking. . . . [Also seized from the 11 and others] were two-way radio equipment for use on land, portable generators, cryptographic equipment, carbines, Colt automatic weapons and revolvers. . . . [There are also] photographs of the places where Downey and Arnold landed. . . .
>
> "Summing up the espionage activities of various American and Chiang Kai-shek agents, it is shown that 230 individuals had been dropped from aircraft in various part of China between 1951 and 1954. These were killed or taken into custody by Chinese security forces. Among the object seized on them were 998 rifles, 5 mine-throwers, 179,000 rounds ammunition, 95 radio receivers, cryptography books, forged Communist Party memberships cards, and false passes of the National Liberation

(Continued on Page 5)



Drawing by Dyad, London

"If you're captured, say we're defending the free world from aggression."

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THE MAIL BAG
U.S.M.

The challenge

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Sen. Knowland is now more dangerous than Sen. McCarthy. A man who can propose a blockade of China at the risk of war and millions of lives, to secure the release of 13 Americans who made an unauthorized landing in Red China, is insane; such irrational citizens should not occupy places of prominence in our national life. Sen. Knowland reminds me of the farmer, who, because he lost a calf, killed his whole herd. Our challenge is not to destroy China, but to build our own heaven here in America. Let's return home and do this!

Vernon Ward

Exchange

CHICAGO, ILL.

As for the Americans held by China for "espionage," their release can be negotiated — in exchange for the release by the U.S. of the Chinese students who for more than three years have been prevented from returning to their homeland because of their "technical scientific" knowledge.

Even though there may be several thousand such Chinese students in the U.S., and even though exit visas have been denied to about 120 such persons, nevertheless, China has not threatened to blockade the U.S.

Albert Bofman

Ike forgot two

PORTLAND, ORE.

We cannot but admire the gallant manner in which our war-hero President has just out-McCarthy'd McCarthy himself. This, in springing to his own and his administration's defense against Joe's accusations of "softness" in the current anti-Communist drive by citing the number of real and "supposed - to - be" Communists charged with treason and whatnot, convicted and sent to prison, or deported, in the first two years of his administration.

But has he not "missed the boat" somewhat in not claiming credit also for the killing of two "supposed-to-be" Communists, parents of two young sons (and, incidentally, of Jewish faith) in the electric chair on an unproven charge of treason in "leaking" atomic information to our recent ally in the world struggle against fascism?

C. M. N.

How crazy can you get dept.

Mr. Hank Shippey and Mr. Jerry Riseley . . . sat over coffee one day not long ago, dreaming things up. And they conceived the idea of selling loyalty oaths for $1 each by mail. . . . They put an ad in an institutional veterans' paper of about 10,000 circulation. "Help Fight Communism With a Loyalty Oath," the ad read, urging the reader to buy one from the Loyalty League, a post office address. In less than two weeks they had 700 orders and they're still coming in fast. Mr. Shippey and Mr. Riseley hurriedly had a printer set up a loyalty oath form in color with "Loyalty Oath" in red script over the top. The form states that the undersigned "is not, nor has ever been, etc., etc." There is a place for the purchaser to sign and another place for the whole thing to be notarized. After which it is suitable for framing, like a marriage license.

—Los Angeles Times, Nov. 26.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Milt Shields, Los Angeles.

Paging General Welfare

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

America today is ruled by six generals — General Ike, General Dulles, General McCarthy, General Wilson, General Motors and General Confusion — with General Eisen-Hoover playing the golfy part to the hilt. The day is soon near when America will belong to the American people again and not General Motors.

Jose Castro

Straight ticket

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Now McCarthy's for a Third Party
The wise guys tell us so
But he's strictly for just one party
And that party of course is—JOE.

Lawrence Gellert

• Holiday Offer •

6-MONTH SUB — FOR ONE BUCK!

Mail this coupon with $1 to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray St.,
New York 7, N. Y.

NAME (Please print) ....

STREET ....

CITY, ZONE, STATE ....

SENDER ....

Minnesota farmers

ROCHESTER, MINN.

In Minnesota, the Farmers' Union has outstripped the reactionary Farm Bureau in membership and is still growing in spite of the fact that our state officials are rather timid about attacking the Farm Bureau and the Chamber of Commerce.

We old Farmer-Laborites are hoping that the time will come when we can regain control of our Farmer-Labor Party to make it a real party for the people such as it was under Elmer Benson.

I am sure that the literature distributed by the Progressive Party had a lot to do with the terrific defeat of the Republicans in Minnesota. The Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor will now have to come through on their rosy promises or they will follow the Republicans, and that means a third party, perhaps Progressive, perhaps a withdrawal of the old Farmer-Labor Party from the Democrats.

O. S. Cummens

Goats are fun

NO. JUDSON, IND.

We on small acreage are just fighting tooth and nail to hold on. I am alone on 12 acres. Bought a few goats and make living expenses (having fun, too). I love goats. Sell milk. Goat has value of about $25 here. That is, grade goat, but I sell milk to the sick and that way keep my expenses paid (while my health lasts). Keep smiling.

Marie Krol Sramek

Well chosen words

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

Had accident last month (fractured skull), so failed to send in donation. Able to sit up and notice this now so send in both months.

Ed. J. Green

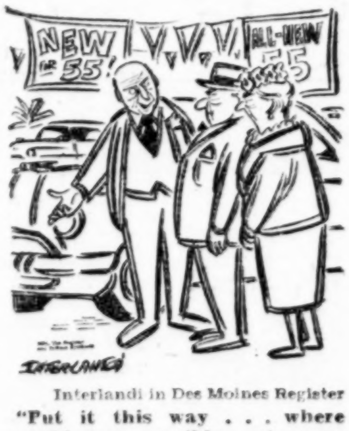
P. S.: Was in hospital 23 days in double bed ward. The 2 names enclosed were patients that occupied the other bed for a few days. Couldn't talk much but I did enough talking so they wanted paper.

Expanding youth

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was pleased to read the letter of the Young Voters Committee of the Greenwich Village ALP. I am glad to know that an ALP youth group exists. However, I suggest, as an ALP'er from the suburbs, that attempts be made to include Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx and Long Island in the project.

Darn Tootin



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Put it this way . . . where could you possibly get more envy for your money. . . ."

The war party?

LITTLETON, MASS.

I have constantly engaged in argument whenever I state that the ruling class of this nation, through the power of the press and radio and now television, can put any party they so desire in power. The reaction to such a statement is astounding, considering that everyone knows that both parties are owned and controlled by rich men. I am immediately told I am dreaming and such things do not occur.

I could almost agree to part of their view if it were not for the fact the Democratic Party has been in power in every war since 1917, which of course is when this nation really started playing Power Politics in earnest.

The 1952 elections I know were bagged. Thanks to your deductions concerning Eisenhower in a GUARDIAN editorial two years before the election: you stated that Ike was a white horse that both parties needed so they could both ride through the storm and stress ahead.

James Pacy Jr.

The garbage beat

KINGSTON, N. Y.

Poetic justice on the front page of the N.Y. Times Dec. 6: Harrison Salisbury's first article on the garbage situation in New York City—a proper award for his littered statements and garbalaged facts in his articles on the Soviet Union.

M. Friedman

State takes the raise

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

When one is on a pension, dollars are a little scarce. I received $5 a month Social Security increase but the state of California figures Social Security as income, so they deduct the raise. Multiplied by 200,000 it equals $1,000,000 a month. Still Governor Knight is planning on increasing sales and cigarette taxes.

H. A. Moore

To Guatemala

BRONX, N. Y.

Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz Salazar
Guatemalan Embassy
1614 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am an important stockholder in United Fruit (i.e., I am an important stockholder in an important subsidiary of United Fruit; the United States). I am writing to protest the forthcoming, well-advertised spectacle of the execution of 20 un-American Guatemalans for loyalty to their country in the face of U.S. aggression. I am not writing to ask for clemency; the term, I suspect, has no usage in the higher banana echelons. I am writing simply to remind you that millions of Americans who won't bother to write are thinking about this.

Earl Price

Toward sanity

CUMBERLAND, WISC.

Being more or less poverty-stricken, I cannot afford to spare $3 for payment for a one-year subscription for the GUARDIAN, yet I have no desire to lose such a good anti-war publication, so I am enclosing a check for $3.

If more GUARDIAN readers are against the idea that their fellowmen must be killed, I suggest that you publish the two following addresses for them: War Resisters League, 5 Beekman St., Rm. 825, N.Y. 38; and American League to Abolish Capital Punishment, 14 Pearl St., Brookline 46, Mass.

Sane people can live peacefully together. Now is the time for them to speak up against oppression and wars.

Charles Beaulieu

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 7, No. 9 178 DECEMBER 20, 1954

THE BELFRAGE CASE

Join the fight now!

THE GUARDIAN is in receipt of a wintry holiday greeting from the McCarthy side of the American family—an order for deportation of our editor, Cedric Belfrage. The proceeding against Belfrage was ordered by Sen. McCarthy in May, 1953, when Belfrage politely declined to answer questions which were none of McCarthy's business. The subpena was issued ostensibly to ask Belfrage about his work in Germany in an Allied outfit which was replacing the Nazi press with a democratic one. His British birth was sufficient to permit proceedings; an Immigration Dept. examiner wove the rest out of testimony of a police spy who had never laid eyes on Belfrage, an informer who writes bad scenarios, and a "scatterbrain" newspaperman whom, when he was penniless 17 years ago, Belfrage befriended and took into his home.

Ironically, McCarthy is now this country's most-discredited individual, but the deportation frame-up he set in motion against Belfrage rolls grimly along. And the anti-McCarthy newspaper which it is Belfrage's mortal sin to edit, has the double job of fighting for its own survival and the right to U.S. residence and citizenship of its editor.

WE NEED YOUR HELP NOW in this double-barreled fight. We must nail down NOW the GUARDIAN's month-to-month security for 1955, PLUS our ability to wage the Belfrage fight wherever we must—immediately through the Board of Immigration Appeals, into the federal courts if necessary, and perhaps ultimately to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The means for an immediate response to this appeal are right now in the hands of fully 90% of GUARDIAN readers. We have asked you, in our Holiday letter to subscribers, for your subscription renewal, for your "Buck of the Month" pledge, for a contribution over and above your renewal. The entire resources of the GUARDIAN must and will be thrown into the Belfrage fight. How ample—or how inadequate!—those resources are depends on you. If the GUARDIAN is worth a dime a week to you now, why not make it a quarter a week for embattled 1955? This is just about what your "Buck-a-Month" pledge will mean in money. In terms of our ability to carry the fight on all fronts, the value of your pledge now is inestimable!

THE RESPONSES this year to the GUARDIAN's Holiday mailing have been the most generous and thoughtful in our history—but thus far, the fewest. Fully 90% of our readers have yet to respond. This means, most likely, that YOU have an unanswered letter from the GUARDIAN somewhere in this month's mail.

Dig it out, please, and answer it NOW. And while you're about it, enclose a note of greeting to Cedric Belfrage. We can use a little warmth from all hands, after the chill of that deportation order.

John T. McManus, for the staff

BRADEN CONVICTED OF SEDITION IN KENTUCKY FRAMEUP, FACES 15 YEARS

IN ONE OF THE MOST fantastic trials yet staged in cold-war America, newspaperman Carl Braden, who broke the unwritten law by helping a Negro family buy a home in a white neighborhood, was convicted by a Louisville jury Dec. 11 of "sedition" and "conspiracy" to overthrow the government of the U.S. and the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Penalties recommended by the jury under the Commonwealth's archaic sedition law were 15 years in jail and a $5,000 fine. No date was set for sentencing; Judge L. R. Curtis has the option of rejecting both penalties. Braden was being held without bond until the judge ruled on defense motions filed Dec. 16 for an arrest of judgment and a new trial.

Immediately after the jury's verdict (the trial took 13 days, the deliberation three hours) Barry Bingham, president of the Louisville **Courier-Journal**, announced Braden's job as a copyreader there had come to a "permanent end."

A NEW PLANT: Braden, his wife Anne and four other white persons were indicted on the sedition charge Oct. 1 after the house, which had been sold to Negro electrical contractor Andrew Wade IV, was bombed. The grand jury, which was supposed to be investigating the bombing, turned the probe into a witch-hunt. The result: two sets of indictments of Wade's supporters. Anne Braden and the others will each have a separate trial; Feb. 7 is the tentative date for the next one.

ONE ISSUE: Although the indictment charged a "conspiracy" to blow up Wade's house, that fact rarely entered the proceedings. The simple issue, Commonwealth prosecutor A. Scott Hamilton told the jury, was: "Sedition is communism and communism is sedition—there is no distinction."

Braden apparently was regarded as such a threat to Kentucky that the Commonwealth imported nine professional informers (who had never known him) and unearthed a new FBI plant to convict him.

Introduced as a "rebuttal witness" shortly before the jury retired was Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 44, a seamstress. She testified that she had been an FBI plant in the Communist Party in Louisville since early 1951, was chairman of the Louisville Peace Crusade and a member of the Progressive Party in 1951-52.

(Continued on Page 10)

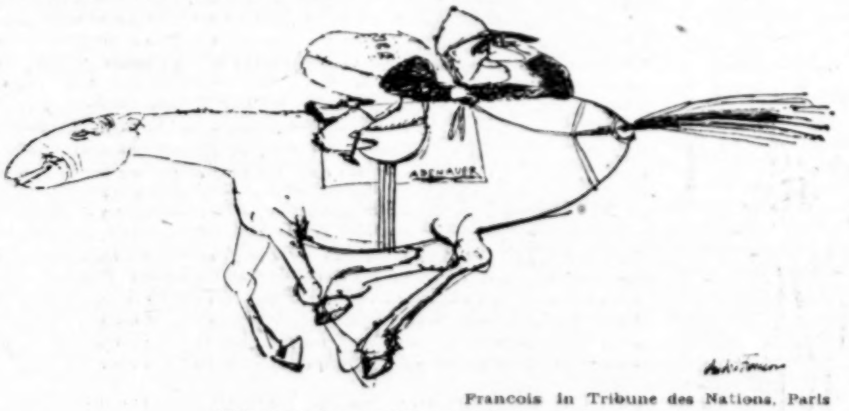
WAR & PEACE

Washington sets goal: hostile co-existence

By Tabitha Petran

A "TURN OF THE TIDE" in foreign policy, an effort to "improve relations" with Russia, a shift from military to economic emphasis in the "cold war"; such was the talk in Washington while politicians and columnists tried to define a co-existence which, they agreed, must be anything but peaceful. "It is politically necessary for the U.S. to talk co-existence in both Europe and Asia," said **Business Week** (12/11), explaining that only thus could the U.S. "maintain its alliance . . . build a worldwide collective defense system."

The acts belied the talk—underlining again that the very modest co-existence Washington has accepted has been forced by power realities beyond its control, and that it is trying to carry on the war program under another name. In so doing it is shackling itself ever more tightly in a bankrupt policy which can only lead from one failure to another. It is doubtful, wrote Vanderbilt Univ. Prof. D. F. Fleming (**Nation**, 11/27), "that we can hold our own in a state of co-existence motivated by hostility."



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

"We look forward to negotiations."

THE CHAIN & THE WHIP: Nowhere was Washington's self-enchainment more apparent than at the close of the UN General Assembly. UN's important achievements in reaching some agreement on disarmament and a new, constructive atmosphere were all but forgotten after the U.S. used its voting control (Latin American, NATO and SEATO votes add up to a ⅔ majority) to make UN again its "cold-war" instrument.

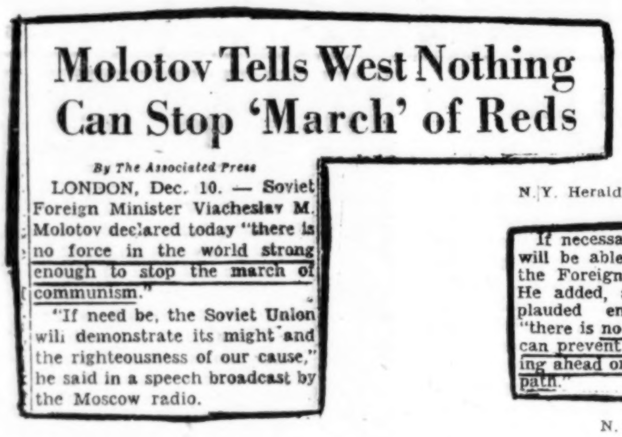
India pleaded that new obstacles be not put in the way of a Korean settlement; but Washington forced the Assembly to demand that the other side accept UN supervision of elections (meaning elections held under S. Korean laws and U.S. military occupation) before new Korean talks could even be considered. When Sweden and Norway said they preferred India's resolution, expressing hope for "progress toward settlement," but would vote for the 15-power (U.S. and its Korea allies) resolution, their obvious distress made plain how Washington had cracked the whip. To compound the cynicism, the 15 powers broke an agreement with India by moving for voting priority on their resolution—thus blocking a vote on the Indian resolution. The U.S.S.R. offered to withdraw its resolution, which called for a new Korean conference, in favor of an effort to reach unanimity on India's; the offer—although the U.S. had demanded some evidence of Soviet "good faith"—was simply ignored. India predicted the West would rue its decision since—as in past Western decisions about Asia—

> ". . . the weight of events will prove greater than the weight of resolutions."

MARGINAL MURDER: Similar cynicism marked the West's short-order rejection of two key items, introduced by the U.S.S.R., seeking to end attacks on China and its trade by U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek forces. Socialist-world delegations presented a carefully documented picture of these attacks from both Western and Chinese sources. For example:

- July, 1950-Feb., 1954: 7,632 violations of China's airspace involving 32,997 sorties by U.S. aircraft and 336 violations of its territorial waters by 704 U.S. naval vessels.
- In 40 days, in Fukien district (immediately across Formosa strait) alone, 1,270 Kuomintang planes raided the district 523 times, dropping 900 bombs on fishing villages and in 200 cases machine-gunned people on the coast, killing 32, wounding 131, damaging 94 houses, sinking 53 fishing boats.
- Since 1949—by incompleted data—470 Chinese ships and 67 foreign merchant ships (43 British, 14 Panamanian, 2 Polish, 2 Greek, one each Italian, Danish, Dutch, Soviet, etc.) have been seized and looted by Chiang forces; in some cases crew members have been wounded or killed. Polish and Soviet crews are still held on Formosa.

Eloquent over China's "inhumanity" to 11 U.S. airmen jailed on spy charges, the West had no word on the sufferings of the Chinese people in Chiang's U.S.-backed war. Its answer was: "Propaganda!" and the odd assertion that UN discussion of the matter would heighten tension. "What is the UN for if not to settle such problems peacefully?" asked the U.S.S.R.



Molotov Tells West Nothing Can Stop 'March' of Reds

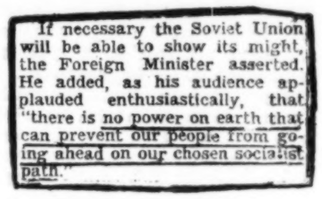
By The Associated Press

LONDON, Dec. 10. — Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav M. Molotov declared today "there is no force in the world strong enough to stop the march of communism."

"If need be, the Soviet Union will demonstrate its might and the righteousness of our cause," he said in a speech broadcast by the Moscow radio.

How a lie in a headline is made of a mistranslation

N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sat., Dec. 11



If necessary the Soviet Union will be able to show its might, the Foreign Minister asserted. He added, as his audience applauded enthusiastically, that "there is no power on earth that can prevent our people from going ahead on our chosen socialist path."

N. Y. Times, Sat., Dec. 11

C. D. & THE SCHOOLBOYS: Washington's fear of disclosures before world public opinion of the extent and intensity of this undeclared war was patent in the tortured efforts of psychological warfare expert, C. D. Jackson, to practise his trade in the UN forum. One delegate complained: "He treats us like a bunch of schoolboys, not the representatives of sovereign nations." Although the Soviet resolution condemning these attacks was rejected, 20 nations voted for its first paragraph which said the end of the Korean and Indo-China wars created "favorable conditions" for settling other international problems. Twelve (including Britain and the U.S.) opposed this paragraph too, while 15 abstained. Notable in all UN debate on Far East questions was the fact that Britain went as far as, if not further than the U.S. in attacking China.

In a strange performance, Britain attempted to blame China rather than Chiang for attacks on British shipping. Challenged by the U.S.S.R. to name a single British ship or crew attacked or held by China, Britain could not.

In a radio broadcast (outside UN) Britain's chief delegate Anthony Nutting lined his country up with the "defense" of Formosa, a basic shift in policy. This seemingly embarrassed the British Foreign Office which gave Nutting a "slap on the wrist," but at the same time appeared to reaffirm the shift.

In this debate on freedom of the seas, the U.S. in one and the same breath claimed control of the area and denied responsibility for Chiang's piracy, which was denied by no one. Chiang's delegate said attacks on China and on shipping would continue.

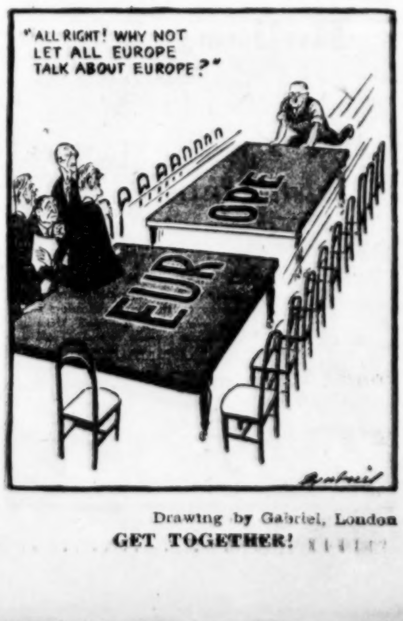
A last-minute Syrian compromise resolution, reaffirming freedom of the seas but condemning no one, was opposed by the U.S. Its application was morally, if not verbally, plain.

U.S. vote victories on Asia are likely to prove pyrrhic. Despite the furore over the airmen—to some extent because of it—realization was growing at UN that China must be admitted; even in the U.S. a few spoke out for a more common-sense approach in the Far East. But Washington had yet to hear them, and seemed intent on preparing for itself in Europe a straightjacket as tight as that in which it has bound itself in Asia.

SCARED OF SETTLEMENT: The U.S., British and French governments insist there can be no talks with Moscow until after ratification of German rearmament. But Moscow's Dec. 9 note—and Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's statement on the 10th anniversary of the Franco-Soviet Pact—made clear that French ratification will constitute "a scorning" of that pact; that there will be nothing to negotiate after rearmament; that Moscow considers W. German rearmament a direct threat. Popular opinion in W. Europe agrees with Gaullist Gaston Palewski, a vice-president of the French National Assembly, who thus answered advocates of "negotiation after ratification":

> "We are told, 'Russia will agree to anything. You can violate the pacts we concluded with her and nothing will happen. You can reject preliminary negotiations and the Russians will do nothing. At any rate, they will not go to war.' In that case, why are you arming Germany? And why are you refusing to negotiate? Is it not because you are afraid that the negotiations will be successful?"

If negotiations were successful, the Western governments' "cold war" policy would blow up; but they have no other. The task of framing an alternative policy is more urgent than ever; a policy not of hostile co-existence but, in the words of London's Tory **Daily Mail** (10/13), "of friendship, which is something better than co-existence."


"ALL RIGHT! WHY NOT LET ALL EUROPE TALK ABOUT EUROPE?"
EUR
OPE
Gabriel

Drawing by Gabriel, London

GET TOGETHER!

This is the way things happened in the Belfrage case history

1945-1946: Cedric Belfrage, a permanent resident of the U. S. since 1936 (first arrival: 1926) and James Aronson, a U. S. citizen, served in Germany directly under Gen. Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters as members of Army press control teams charged with de-Nazifying and democratizing the press of the occupied country.

1946-1947: Belfrage, under a fellowship grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, wrote a book of his experiences in Germany; it was too politically "hot" for U. S. publishers until Cameron & Kahn issued it this year under the title **Seeds of Destruction.**

1948: Belfrage, Aronson and John T. McManus founded the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

JULY 19, 1950: Belfrage summoned to N. Y. C. Immigration Service headquarters, told he was being "investigated," asked if he would answer questions on his "views, associations and writings." Said he would not; nothing further heard from Immigration Service.

MAY 8, 1953: Belfrage subpenaed to appear before House Un-American Activities Committee; declined to answer questions under the 5th Amendment. Chairman Velde said he should be deported.

MAY 13-14, 1953: Belfrage and Aronson both subpenaed to appear before Joe McCarthy's investigating committee. They answered specific questions about their work in Germany, declined to answer questions on their personal beliefs. McCarthy, at a closed session, directed that an official of the Immigration Service be present at the public session next day. He was.

MAY 15, 1953: Belfrage arrested in the GUARDIAN office on a deportation warrant, taken to Ellis Island. Atty. Gen. Brownell ordered him held without bail.

JUNE 10, 1953: Belfrage released in $5,000 bail under a ruling by Federal Dist. Judge Weinfeld in a habeas corpus proceeding, his movements restricted to the N. Y. area.

DEC. 11, 1953: A government effort to revoke bail rejected by federal judge.

APRIL 9, 1954: Federal Circuit Court of Appeals reaffirmed the right to bail.

JULY 28, 1954: Immigration Service ordered deportation hearing Aug. 10.

AUG. 10, 1954: Belfrage's lawyers refused to let him take the stand in a proceeding that in effect would have made him a government witness against himself; he sat mute for two hours while a government attorney droned loaded questions, implying charges most of which were never mentioned again.

SEPT. 7-OCT. 12, 1954: Deportation hearing proceeded on charges relating to alleged CP membership in 1937-38.

DEC. 9, 1954: Deportation ordered; appeal announced.

The Belfrage case

(Continued from Page 1)

Skattebol related that early in 1938, a time when he "scratched around" for a living doing odd jobs in Los Angeles and Hollywood, Belfrage engaged him for about six weeks to type a book manuscript and do occasional baby-sitting. After an acquaintanceship of only two weeks, Skattebol testified, Belfrage and his wife not only revealed themselves to him as Communists but sought to recruit him into the Communist Party. Maltin characterizes Skattebol's testimony as "clear, unequivocal and, after intensive cross-examination, undamaged" and adds:

> "His testimony . . . is sufficient to establish that he (Belfrage) was a member of the Communist Party in 1938. I believe that this and nothing further fully establishes that point."

WHERE'S SCULLY? Part of Skattebol's "unequivocal" testimony consisted of a declaration under direct examination that Belfrage's friendship toward him had cooled when he declined to join the CP, and a contrary admission under cross-examination that Belfrage's friendship toward him had not only not cooled but had persisted even after Skattebol went to England that same year, and that his work on the book was warmly acknowledged in a foreword when the book was published some time later.

Totally ignored in the decision was the testimony of Frank Scully, Hollywood writer and **Variety** columnist, an intimate friend of Belfrage who also knew Skattebol in 1938; he had this to say of him:

> ". . . He was one of my army of transient secretaries. . . . He was a fast typist, fast runner and a great conclusion-jumper, too, quite young, slender, blonde, nervous. I subsequently became secretary to the Dept. of Institutions, California, and I had 27,000 mental cases; and under light of what I saw in those nuttier, I was rather concerned for Lars. I wouldn't want to put him too hard under pressure in the present tempo of society. . . . I used to call him 'Lars Scatterbrain' because he didn't stay in one line from day to day, it was wild. . . ."

ADULTERIES, ETC.: Skattebol also testified that he had not seen Belfrage since 1938 until he confronted him in the hearing room, and knew nothing of his politics in all that time. But in 1951 he came upon a copy of the GUARDIAN, didn't like its treatment of the war in Korea, and decided to go to the FBI "to tell what I knew about Cedric Belfrage."

When asked on the stand if Belfrage had ever done him harm, he said:

> "Yes.
> "How?
> "By being Belfrage, by being editor of this paper."

To inquiry Officer Maltin, Skattebol's word was gospel truth. Accepting at face value his assertion that Belfrage was a Communist because "he told me so," he writes:

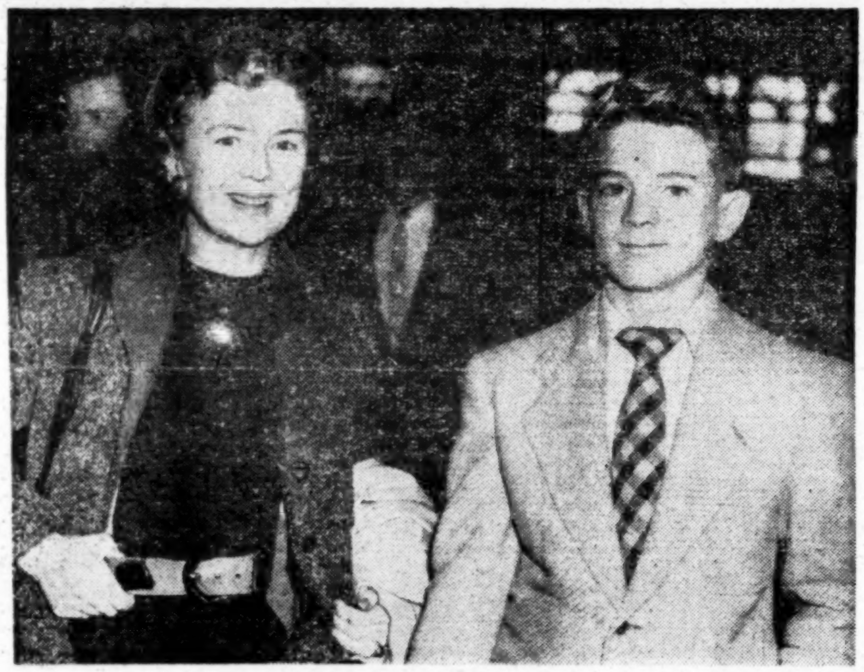
> "It can thus be seen that, it having been established that the respondent was a member of the Communist Party of the U. S. in 1938 . . . it may be presumed that his membership continued. . . ."

Maltin quoted from a law-school textbook on "presumption that a condition or tendency continued for as long as is usual with things of that nature"; the book's statement that "an adulterous intercourse is presumed to continue" was cited to imply that an alleged Communist Party membership would continue.

"INDICIA OF TRUTH": Defense testimony by the Rev. Claude Williams contradicting government witness and informer Martin Berkeley is dismissed in the decision on the general ground that Williams' memory "of dates many years ago" is faulty. The precise opposite standard is applied to Berkeley, who testified (1) that when a California magazine published (in 1940) an article by "George Oakden" he was struck by the name, knowing Belfrage lived on Oakden Drive; that he asked Belfrage who Oakden was and Belfrage said it was he; (2) That he (Berkeley) used the name "Martin Porter" in writing for **New Masses** (in which Belfrage was shown to have written under his own name in the same period); (3) That he had no knowledge or recollection of a **New Masses** article "by Martin Porter and George Oakden" published in 1937, nor of who this Oakden was. (Belfrage did live on Oakden Drive in 1937; in 1940 he had lived for three years at another address.) Maltin's comment:

> "If indeed he did write the article and forgot about it, this to me would be greater indicia of his truthfulness. . . ."

The government's prize evidence was the signature "George Oakden" on a receipt card for a CP membership book dated 1937. The government contended that "Oakden" was Belfrage's "party name," and called an FBI expert to testify that the signature was in Belfrage's handwriting. For the defense Elizabeth McCarthy, a top-ranking independent handwriting expert, testified that with reasonable certainty she could state it was not Belfrage's handwriting. Both experts were recalled to the stand; Miss McCarthy was even more positive in her position the second time. Inquiry Officer Maltin resolved this contradiction simply: "the testimony of the Government expert," he wrote, "is more credible. . . ."



THE STRANGE LAND

Cedric Belfrage's 14-year-old American son Nicky, with his mother Mary Belfrage, gets his first view of his new home town at Waterloo Station, London. Arrested for deportation in Aug., 1953, the GUARDIAN editor's former wife remained on $2,000 bail, confined to the New York area, until last Oct. 10 when—having refused from the outset to answer any Immigration Dept. questions except to say she wanted to leave as soon as possible—she was finally allowed to go. America's verdict for Nicky, born three years after the period of the "charges" against his mother: exile.

JOE McCARTHY
He ordered the job

Diplomats in despair

John Paton Davies Jr., who was ousted **from the Foreign Service** last Friday **after 23 years of service** [for "lack of judgment, discretion and reliability" mainly because of his reports from China that the Communists would prevail over Chiang Kai-shek], urged members of that service yesterday to "continue to report honestly and bravely their best opinions to their Government." Mr. Davies said he knew they would do this because "I know the quality of those men and women and I know that they are aware of the grave responsibility they carry."

—N. Y. Times, Nov. 8.

●

There is despair today among many patriotic and sincere American diplomats. . . The injustice of the Davies case reflects upon the whole fabric of American diplomacy. A well-known career Ambassador admits confidentially he no longer dares report the brazen truth because of present hysteria.

—C. L. Sulzberger from Paris, N. Y. Times, Nov. 8.

IS MAY 1 MAY DAY?

Weinstock facing perjury trial Jan. 11

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, former Painters Union leader, is facing three years in jail and denaturalization proceedings as a convicted Communist Party leader in a Smith Act trial. In testifying before the Subversive Activities Control Board he said the annual New York May Day Committee had been known since 1949 as the "United Labor and People's Committee for May Day," rather than the "United May Day Committee" (as a government informer testified). Because of that testimony Weinstock must stand trial in Washington Jan. 10 for perjury before a federal court. If convicted he faces an additional five years.

Weinstock was called as a witness in the SACB's proceeding to list the "United May Day Committee" as a "Communist front" organization. He testified that the N. Y. May Day committee was formed annually, usually in March, and disbanded after each annual May Day demonstration; hence it was a continuing organization. In support of his title for the committee he offered letterheads and correspondence. Informer John Lautner nevertheless insisted that the name was still "United May Day Committee."

Weinstock is free on $5,000 bail. His attorneys were to argue Dec. 20 to have the indictment quashed. Contributions to Weinstock's fight may go to Frank Wedl, treasurer, 401. E. 89th St., N. Y. 28.

Time, gentlemen, please!

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I am enclosing a $12 money order to cover a renewal of my subscription plus 9 gift subs at your special $1 rate. My list includes people who should be reading the GUARDIAN, some of them former subscribers who thru laxity, apathy or procrastination have permitted their subscriptions to lapse. Getting the GUARDIAN again will wake them up. May I suggest that all Guardian readers wake up their friends in like manner? **E. F. M.**

The facts on spies

(Continued from Page 1)

Army. . . . All the weapons, radio equipment and other devices in possession of the spies . . . bear the mark 'Made in USA.' Generators were supplied by the liaison corps of the U.S. Army. The U.S. also equipped agents dropped from the air with large quantities of Chinese banknotes and gold in bullion. . . ."

WHAT IS "NORMAL?" Washington's case rests on the claim that the plane was flying over N. Korea, in normal combat operations, when it was downed. Curiously, successive U.S. notes and statements gave four versions of where it was and what it was doing, although finally a radar map was produced purporting to show its exact fight. The final U.S. contention was that the place was "irrelevant." (One U.S. version said the plane was engaged in leaflet dropping, "a normal military operation." Said Malik: "This is indeed an important admission. . . . The dropping of American leaflets carrying hostile appeals and provocative proclamations has been carried on systematically with respect to some socialist states, especially Czechoslovakia. . . . According to Mr. Lodge's submission therefore the U.S. would be engaged in military operations in E. Europe when dropping leaflets from military aircraft there.")

The "leaflet-dropping" version was designed to explain what an unarmed and unescorted B-29 was doing hundreds of miles behind the front lines. But Col. Arnold was quoted as saying at his trial that it was disarmed because "it could thus fly further and faster; its job was not to enter combat but to avoid it and hide." He added that it was especially equipped and supplied to carry out assignments for CIA.

WRONG PROCEDURE: Many U.S. press and official boasts of just such "black operations" of CIA, especially in the Far East and China, were cited in the debate; and it was asked why the U.S. had not raised the question according to procedures set up under the Korean armistice. The Swedish delegate called the U.S. action in bringing it to UN—where, he emphasized, China is not represented—"inappropriate," and said it should have been referred to the Armistice Commission.

The vote supporting U.S. "condemnation" of China was a foregone conclusion, Washington's NATO and SEATO partners—plus 20 Latin American votes—assuring the 47-to-5 count. Most of Asia's population with UN delegations—nearly half a billion people—was represented in the seven abstentions. Several delegations pointed out, as did India, that if the U.S. really wanted the airmen back it could hardly have chosen a worse means to do so.

Confectioners Told Russia Threatens 5-Cent Candy Bar

The Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville

Hey, C. of C.! Your propaganda's slipping!

BOSTON—The profit incentive is not essential to the survival of the American free enterprise economic system. The best way to raise living standards is for workers to get more of a company's income. One or two companies in many industries almost monopolize these industries.

These were some of the responses by high school seniors in 36 schools scattered throughout the U.S. as disclosed in a poll on attitudes toward the free enterprise system conducted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce . . . by Paul Good, manager of the education dept. of the Chamber.

Mr. Good said 82% of the seniors "just don't believe we have competition in our business world." Six of ten said owners get too much of the money that business makes and three out of four said that most of the gains from new machinery go to the owners and not workers.

The survey found 55% of the students agreed with the communist theory "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs."

—Wall St. Journal, Dec. 7.

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Onward and upward in the Free World

The Bulletin for Medical Research (Mar.-Apr., 1954) reports that the dog food bill paid by U.S. dog owners is approximately $406 millions per year.

The Bronx, N.Y., Press-Review (12/9) reports that the Toy Guidance Council is offering "a doll with a $239 mink coat."

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LATIN AMERICA

'19th century' U.S. delegates steam-roll Rio conference

By Kumar Goshal

SEVENTEEN raw materials account for 78% of all Latin American exports. For some countries like Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Uruguay and Venezuela, one commodity accounts for over 50% of all exports. Since the Korean War prices of these materials have steadily declined and the fluctuations have created havoc in Latin American economy.

The U.S.'s southern neighbors want the prices stabilized; they also want an inter-American fund set up to finance development projects that neither the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank nor private banks will handle. (The UN Economic Commission for Latin America recommended an annual $1 billion investment for 15 years through such a fund, the U.S. contributing half the amount.)

Last month Latin American finance ministers met with a U.S. delegation at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to discuss these and other matters. The conference began in an atmosphere of "the U.S. vs. Latin America," ended "with the same clear division of basic interests between the industrial U.S. and Latin American producers of raw materials" (N. Y. **Times**, 12/1).

THE SHORELINE OF LAKE MARACAIBO IN W. VENEZUELA

The oil becomes dollars for U.S.-owned corporations

U.S. WON'T PLAY: When Chile offered a resolution to set up a commission on the possibility of such an inter-American fund as the UN Economic Commission recommended, U.S. Asst. Treasury Secy. Andrew Overby called the size of the fund "illusory." Referring to Latin America's industrialization program—which alone can raise the people's living standard—he warned against "piling up hastily conceived and uneconomic projects" (N. Y. **Times**, 11/27). After Cuba offered a resolution to consider creating an inter-American fund, it came "as something of a shock to the Latin American delegates" when Overby said "the U.S. would neither participate in the proposed fund nor engage in any preliminary study." Although all countries except the U.S. voted in favor of the resolutions, it was believed that the U.S. stand "to all intents and purposes doomed the idea" (**NYT**, 11/28).

The U.S. delegation contended that funds were available through the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank, but neglected to point out that these two banks have primarily aided U.S. corporations in Latin America. World Bank loans have financed power plants, railroads and highways needed by U.S. industrialists to facilitate extraction and transportation of raw materials. Latest Export-Import Bank loan was to a subsidiary of the American Smelting & Refining Co. to develop copper-mining in Peru; other loans were used to make up the deficit in Latin American countries' payments to U.S. banks and manufacturers.

TACTLESS CONGRESSMAN: On a 15-nation resolution to stabilize export commodity prices, the U.S. took an unyielding position; it voted in favor only after Latin Americans agreed not to mention price-fixing measures but merely to study means of avoiding price fluctuations. The U.S. agreed to ask Congress for legislation allowing income-tax exemption for taxes owed by American companies in foreign countries but excused by those countries presumably to encourage investment. The U.S. also endorsed resolutions on stimulating transportation and tourist travel, which would benefit U.S airlines and shipping companies.

During the conference, to the Latins' delight and the fury of U.S. delegates, Rep. James G. Fulton (R-Pa.) created a dramatic interlude by taking strong issue with U.S. policies. Accusing the U.S. delegation of "19th-century thinking" and of ignoring several concrete programs to aid Latin America, he said he would advocate legislation calling for an immediate $1 billion allocation in grants and long-term loans to Latin American countries. Sen. George A. Smathers (D-Fla.), another observer with the U.S. delegation, was in "full accord" with Fulton.

Fulton was not invited to a special meeting held by the U.S. delegation to survey reaction to his statement. Later, after he and his traveling companion were already dressed for an embassy dinner, they were told that U.S. Ambassador Kemper would be "unable to receive" them.

SCORE—ZERO: The Latin American delegates were a mixed lot—some representing reactionary dictatorships, some placed in power by the U.S. (as in Guatemala). Their acute economic problems, pressure from their own ambitious businessmen and public outcry in their countries for material improvement forced them to bargain for some minimum concessions from the U.S. But in this they were hardly a match for such veteran U.S. horse-traders and concession-getters as Deputy Secy. of State Herbert Hoover Jr. (with his Latin American and Middle Eastern experience, most recently in Iran) and Treasury Secy. George H. Humphrey.

On the last day, making the best of a bad situation, Mexican Finance Minister Antonio Flores declared that Latin Americans would find the work of the conference "was not sterile." Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.) told newsmen the U.S. delegation had "done a bang-up job" without yielding on its principles. But Colombia's Carlos Restrepo said his country did not feel the conference had done much to increase banking facilities and to stabilize commodity prices.

U.S. News (12/10) reported bluntly that Latin Americans felt "the Rio conference added up to just about zero for them." The conference agreed to meet again in 1956 in Buenos Aires.

PEARL BUCK AND N. Y. TIMES LEAD FIGHT

Jailing of aliens stirs a storm

SHORTLY after the Immigration Service announced the closing of Ellis Island and other "seaport detention facilities" for aliens held for deportation, novelist Pearl S. Buck wrote to the N.Y. **Times** about two of her friends—a Spanish couple—who had been moved from the Island to two separate jails (GUARDIAN, 11/22). She called for "something to be done immediately" about the new treatment of such "detainees" who—though charged with no crime—were being "locked up with murderers, drug addicts and other degenerate types."

The **Times** did something; such "detainees," it said editorially, might not deserve to be lodged at the Waldorf-Astoria but "they certainly don't deserve to be thrown in jail." Other papers picked up the story. On Dec. 10 the **Times** carried a letter from Miss Buck about some Chinese "detainee" friends who had been moved under armed guard—with no food supplied them for 28 hours except a cup of coffee and two cookies—to a jail in California.

A page-one report in the same **Times** said Washington had instructed Immigration Service district directors that "under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail." About 40 were then being held in the federal detention houses at West St. and Greenwich Av., N. Y. C. The women had been transferred to Greenwich Av. from Eastview (Westchester Co.) jail when "that prison's officials canceled its arrangement with the immigration authorities."

ORGANIZED CONFUSION: The **Times** story said that "all present and future detainees" had been ordered housed at the Empire Hotel, 63d St. and Broadway, "pending the establishment of quarters at the agency's headquarters, 70 Columbus Av." But the future of the "detainees" born the wrong side of the ocean was still obscure, for the owner of 70 Columbus Av. was said to be reluctant to renew the government's lease expiring "in a year or so."

On Dec. 11 the **Times** commended the Justice Dept. for "wisely revoking the order" to jail alien "detainees," which "should never have been issued in the first place." In the same issue a Justice Dept. spokesman was quoted as saying that while 11 were in hotels, 26 "of a possible subversive or criminal type" were still in detention houses. The spokesman implied that such "types" would continue to be held in jail, although "a department spokesman had said earlier that the number of aliens detained in New York was down to 26 and all were in hotel quarters." As for Miss Buck's Chinese friends, attorney Ira Gollobin told the **GUARDIAN** they were "on the high seas now headed for their home on the China mainland." The Spanish couple were out on bail, but most political "detainees" were still jailed.

THE LOST TRADITION: Gov.-elect Averell Harriman and his Atty. General-elect have both condemned imprisoning immigrants. Harriman told several hundred Jewish leaders at the 40th annual dinner-meeting of the Joint Distribution Committee Dec. 9:

> ". . . The oppressed, homeless and freedom-seeking peoples abroad must regard with cynicism an America which bars the door to all but a trickle of immigrants, which bases immigration on the discriminatory and racist concept of national origin and throws immigrants . . . in jail."

Rep. (Atty. Gen.-elect) Jacob K. Javits said that holding immigrants or "detainees" in jails was "disruptive alike of our social concept of the purpose of a prison and of the nation's majesty in receiving aliens."

Gloria Agrin, an attorney for Taras Bojarchuk who was finally released on bail after a total of 2½ years on Ellis Island and in jail (GUARDIAN, 11/22), wrote to the **Times** a moving defense of immigrants whose "muscle-power stretched our railroad lines from Atlantic to Pacific, whose energy [built] our skyscrapers and industrial plants, whose sweat poured into the steel of our mills and mingled with the fruit of our mines, whose skills assembled our machines and fashioned the clothing for our backs." She wrote:

> "To adopt the attitude that aliens may come to our shores only by our arbitrary sufferance is to forget our national experience that they come not to take, but to contribute. . . . The detention of aliens pending conclusion of proceedings against them is a deprivation of liberty to which no citizen can be subjected and no human being should be.
>
> ". . . The law which purports to authorize [such aliens'] detention should be wiped from the statute books. But prison detention, at least . . . can and should be ended immediately by those same officials who brought it into being."

See it on the wide screen

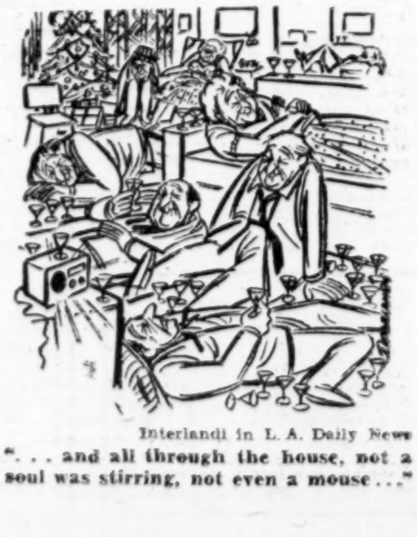
"Cars are going down in price. Tea is going up. Butter is going up. Bacon is going up. All foodstuffs, the things we need, are going up and the things we don't need are going down. Soon all the world will be able to see itself starving to death through up-to-date television sets."

—**Aneurin Bevan, British MP, Dec. 5.**

Sunday in Moscow

MOSCOW, Sunday (Reuters)—A group of British churchmen, headed by the Queen's Chaplain, Canon Raven, attended a three-hour service today in the Yelokhovsky Cathedral, Moscow, for the consecration of a Russian Orthodox bishop. Dr. Soper, former president of the Methodist Conference, said that the service, which was conducted by the Patriarch Alexei, was "interesting and elaborate, especially to a Non-conformist. The singing was superb. The cathedral was full of worshippers."

—**London Daily Telegraph, Nov. 29.**



Interlandi in L. A. Daily News

". . . and all through the house, not a soul was stirring, not even a mouse . . ."

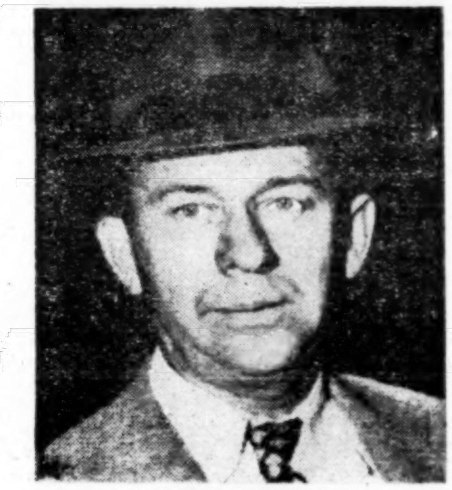
SEDITION!

Steve Nelson case will test hysteria laws in 28 states

By Ione Kramer

IN July 1952, Steve Nelson, Lincoln Brigade veteran and former W. Pennsylvania Communist leader, was sentenced to 20 years in jail and a fine of $10,000 under the state's Anti-Sedition law. Passed during the red hysteria following World War I, the law defined "sedition" broadly in one of its sections as "to incite or encourage any person to commit any overt act with a view to bringing the Government of this state or the United States into hatred or contempt." Receiving the same sentence as Nelson were 70-year-old **Daily Worker** reporter James Dolsen and Andrew Onda, who is in N.Y.'s Rockefeller Institute Hospital with a heart condition too serious to be moved.

On Nelson's appeal, the Pa. Supreme Court reversed the conviction in Jan., 1954, declaring the Anti-Sedition law invalid. The court held that by passing the sedition provisions of the Smith Act in 1940, Congress has superseded state legislation on that subject, and such prosecutions should be limited to federal courts.



STEVE NELSON

20 years of a man's life

The Nelson case has become a major test of federal vs. state laws relating to "sedition," with serious implications for the labor movement more and more broadly recognized.

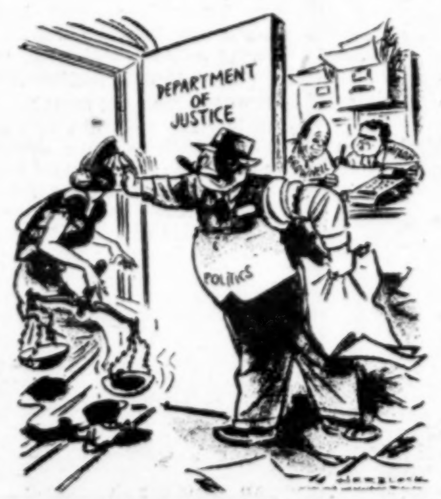
PICKETING THREATENED: Two bills introduced into Congress this summer by Rep. Howard W. "Smith Act" Smith (D-Va.) and Sen. William Jenner (R-Ind.) tipped the witch-hunters' hand on the real intent of "sedition" laws. Ostensibly to validate the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition law, the bills would have also validated various state anti-picketing laws which the courts had earlier overruled. Had the bills passed, said an American Fedn. of Labor exec. board report Sept. 30, they would have "made all state laws affecting labor which are more stringent than federal laws take precedence over federal legislation." The AFL report continued:

> ". . . The bill would also validate various state anti-picketing laws which have been thrown out in the Garner case. . . . There is also reason to believe it might imperil the union shop amendments to the Railway Labor Act. . . . After we lodged a protest . . . no further action was taken. . . . It is probable a similar effort will be made in the next Congress."

27 "FRIENDS": Another drive to revalidate the Pennsylvania law, and establish a precedent for the use of sedition laws by all states, was begun by Pennsylvania Atty. Gen. Frank F. Truscott. Acting as an individual he petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to review his own state's decision. The high court has agreed to hear arguments in the case.

Attorney generals from 27 other states, led by New Hampshire's Louis C. Wyman, have filed an "amicus" brief urging the Pennsylvania law be upheld (see list in box). In a separate brief Massachusetts Atty. Gen. George Fingold pointed out that the decision would affect three pending prosecutions in his state. They are the 1951 indictments of former Mass. Institute of Technology professor Dirk J. Struik; the April indictment of sculptor and former Communist candidate Otis Hood for membership in a "subversive" organization under a 1952 law; and the May indictment of Hood and five others for "conspiracy to advocate" under the "Anti-Anarchy" law of 1919. Under a state "anti-subversive" law passed in 1951, New Hampshire is prosecuting 1938 Communist gubernatorial candidate Mrs. Elba Chase Nelson and her son Homer Chase, and **Monthly Review** co-editor Paul Sweezy.

Over 40 states now have sedition laws, most of them relics of the Palmer Raids era. Of these, 17 have "right-to-work" laws, which virtually outlaw the union shop, and several have anti-picketing laws. Such laws are now being fought in La., Idaho, and Mo. The Trucks Act and the "little Smith Act" in Michigan, as well as the Texas law and Pennsylvania's Musmanno law which provide a death penalty for Communists, would be affected by the Nelson-Pennsylvania decision. Investigating committees set up under state laws were recently used to attack the insurance agents' and the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers unions in Massachusetts, and against the Square D strikers in Michigan.



Herblock in Washintgon Post

"BEAT IT"

PROF. DIRK STRUIK

Massachusetts still stands

The annual conference of the Natl. Assn. of Attorneys General meeting last week reaffirmed the principle of concurrent federal-state authority in this field. They authorized a joint federal-state liaison committee on subversive activities.

LOCAL FIGHT HARDER: To defend the position of the Pa. Supreme Court and confine the battle for civil liberties to the national arena, a new Natl. Committee to End Sedition Laws has been formed in Pittsburgh. Said committee secy. Allan D. McNeil:

> "The 'states righters' recognize that it is possible to defeat these things on a national level, as the censure of Sen. McCarthy shows; but if they cannot succeed there, they have a plan to cripple labor and political protest on a state or even county level, where it is harder to fight back."

Former natl. organization director for the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, and district representative for United Electrical Workers, McNeil is a veteran of World War II and the war in Spain, where he was known as Allan Johnson.

McNeil pointed out that since the amicus brief was filed, Republican administrations in five of the states signing (Ariz., Conn., Me., N.M., N.Y. and Pa.) have been repudiated. Pennsylvania's Truscott, who campaigned specifically on the fact that he had introduced this request for review, was swept out by Democratic Gov.-elect George M. Leader's resounding 280,000 majority, the largest ever there.

LABOR'S STAKE: The committee is urging labor unions and individuals to write the Atty. Gen. or atty. gen.-elect in their state to withdraw from the amicus brief. Pennsylvanians were speculating on whether Truscott's Democratic successor Herbert B. Cohen would withdraw and collapse the whole thing before the Supreme Court hears it. Committees are now being formed in individual states, while a fighting fund is being collected through the national office.

Both nationally and locally AFL and CIO unions have put up strong fights against the state anti-labor laws, and they were urged to speak in favor of the Pa. Supreme Court decision, and support this action designed to curb what may set a dangerous precedent for them. Whatever the outcome of the Miami hysteria and the current Louisville trial, McNeil observed: "If we win, they win."

The Q-Bomb

The invention of a bomb so powerless that it would not smash an egg-cup five yards away from the explosion has startled the scientists.

In the hands of a scrupulous State this non-lethal weapon, incapable of wiping out an entire egg-cup, might reduce war to a farce. Already there is talk of a still less powerful bomb which would not even dent the shell of an egg at a range of six inches. It is believed that the former bomb has already been exploded in a field. Field-mice playing near by went on with their games, and apparently noticed nothing unusual. This bomb, the Q-bomb, is the invention of Dr. Strabismus (Whom God Preserve) of Utrecht.

When exploded the bomb makes a sound like a blackberry thrown on to a sheet of zinc, and there rises slowly into the air a puff of smoke as from a cigarette. This smoke is quite harmless. The bomb is so small that a bomber-plane could carry 500,000, if such an operation were thought worth while. Asked if the invention could be used for peaceful purposes, the sage replied: "It could no doubt be applied to non-warlike activities. In fact it can hardly be considered as a weapon at all. No country would want to be the first to use it, and as a weapon of defense or retaliation it would cause nothing but laughter."

—"Beachcomber" in London **Daily Express**

No oath, no college

For the first time freshmen and sophomore students formally enrolled in basic Reserve Officers Training Corps courses will be required to "execute a certificate of loyalty [to the U.S.] as prescribed by the Secy. of Defense." Several states by law require all freshmen and sophomore students in state-supported institutions to take ROTC.

—NEA Journal, Nov., 1954.

Send protests

The Natl. Committee to End Sedition Laws (Room 212, Forbes Bldg., Pittsburgh 13, Pa.) urges that protests be sent to these attorney generals and attorney generals-elect in states which have joined an amicus brief for upholding the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition Law:

Arizona	Ross F. Jones
Connecticut	*John J. Bracken
Florida	Richard W. Ervin
Georgia	Eugene Cook
Indiana	Edwin K. Steers
Kansas	Harold R. Fatzer
Louisiana	Fred S. LeBlanc
Maine	(Legislature elects in Jan.)
Maryland	Edward D. E. Rollins
Massachusetts	George Fingold
Michigan	Frank G. Millard
Mississippi	J. P. Coleman
Montana	Arnold H. Olsen
Nebraska	Clarence S. Beck
Nevada	W. T. Mathews
New Hampshire	Louis C. Wyman
New Mexico	Richard H. Robinson
New York	*Jacob K. Javits
North Carolina	Harry McMullan
Ohio	William O'Neill
Pennsylvania	*Herbert B. Cohen
South Carolina	T. C. Callison
Tennessee	Roy H. Beeler
Virginia	J. Lindsay Almond Jr.
Washington	Don Eastvold
Wisconsin	Vernon W. Thompson

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* Incoming attorney general

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Across the frontiers

MEETING in Stockholm Nov. 18-23, the World Council of Peace announced these cultural anniversaries to be celebrated around the world in 1955: Germany's poet **Schiller** (died 1805); Poland's poet **Adam Mickiewicz** (died 1855); France's philosopher **Montesquieu** (died 1755); **Hans Christian Andersen** (born 1805); Spain's **Cervantes** (350th anniversary of his "Don Quixote"); the U.S.'s **Walt Whitman** (100th anniversary of his "Leaves of Grass").

The Council appealed to all peoples to celebrate these anniversaries to help them "speak to one another across the frontiers, learn to understand one another better and strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation." In its main resolution the Council called upon all who "long to live free from fear, mistrust and hate for other peoples" to "get together before it is too late" at a World Peace Assembly in May, 1955. The resolution said:

> "Only a mighty movement of the peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposing blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning, and free mankind from crushing arms budgets."

Walter Lowenfels

NEW YORK, N. Y.

When a country jails its poets, the world is forced to stop a moment and wonder. For such a jailing is not the same thing as putting a pickpocket behind bars. It is an attempt to trap the spirit of a nation and clothe it in prison gray. It is a warning to the world that that nation has fallen into the hands of its executioners.

Miners carry birds with them when they go down into the pits. The birds are sensitive to the deadly gases, and their fainting is a sign to the miner that he is going into a poisoned atmosphere.

Aren't poets something like these miners' birds to us?

Our country needs poets like Walter Lowenfels — especially because they want to put him into jail. For it is precisely such a poet in these perilous times who defends us best! **Phillip Bonosky**

ADVERTISEMENT

JOE BLASTS IKE

Page one headline, N.Y. Post, Dec. 7, 1954

SEN. McCARTHY'S Pearl Harbor Day assault upon Eisenhower was perhaps the nicest thing anybody has said about the President in years.

It makes one wonder what Eisenhower did to deserve it.

Quite suddenly he finds himself in the glorious company of the vilified, and while he has been properly vilified by the best vilifier in the country, we, the vilified-from-'way-back, may be pardoned for checking the President's credentials more thoroughly before we let him join us anti-McCarthyites in the stocks.

In his censure of the President, Sen. McCarthy charged and found him guilty of "patience" and "tolerance" at a difficult moment in world history, and of applauding those who censured McCarthy. In the Madison Square Garden meeting for McCarthy last month the President was booed for using bad language—particularly the word, "co-existence," until recently hedged with quotes or otherwise banned from the free press.

It may be that the President is guilty of a graver crime, too horrible for Sen. McCarthy to name. It may be that Eisenhower has recognized reality.

Perhaps the President, from the vantage point of the White House, has looked over the world and found that millions of people, unavailable for questioning before Congressional committees, stubbornly prefer co-existence to slaughter. Perhaps his closest advisers see no future—not even profits—in a radioactive wasteland.

Perhaps Politician Eisenhower has counted noses and discovered that neither he nor his party can corral votes for destruction but only for peace. Perhaps General Eisenhower, who first relished every atomic gadget the scientists could discover, has at last become scared stiff. That way, too, lies wisdom.

Last September, according to an authoritative story in the **Washington Post**, our general staff was demanding war upon China and was frustrated only by the President's veto.

Why shouldn't we cheer that veto while we take a second look at the vetoer?

He has rejected Sen. Knowland's proposal to blockade China and called it "an act of war." Why shouldn't we cheer the vision demonstrated in that rejection even if what the President now seems to see has been obvious to all the world for years?

We hope this new look may be more than a lapse from delirium into reality, more than a cautious retreat by those who write the Presidential speeches. Men have stumbled into decency before and history has sometimes beaten sense into the most hard-headed of us.

In these days progressives are no longer the exclusive targets of Sen. McCarthy. We ought to shove over and make room—first for all those who voted for Ike and the GOP because they wanted co-existence. Then if Ike wants to follow the people who voted for him; if he shows he really deserves the enmity of Sen. McCarthy and learns to enjoy it as a badge of honor; if he learns that co-existence, though it begins abroad, must end at home, there might be room for him, too.

Somebody ought to write the President a letter.

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the SPECTATOR

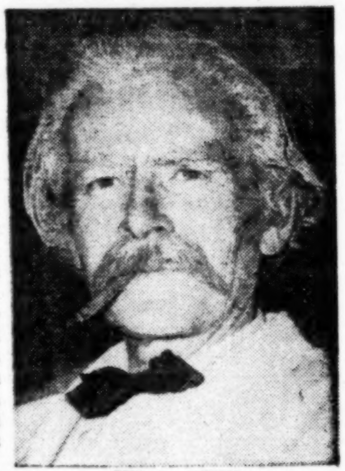
Life on the 4th St. river

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER is rolling these days through Manhattan's East Side. It cuts its way right across a little hall at the Palms, 85 E. 4th St. On Friday and Saturday evenings New Yorkers can sit on its banks and watch a raft drift downstream. They can eavesdrop on Huck Finn and the runaway slave Jim as the two float on their raft discussing why Frenchmen don't talk so they could be understood on the Mississippi. Jim asks:

> "Is a cat a man, Huck?" "No." "Well, den, dey ain't no sense in a cat talkin' like a man. Is a cow a man?—er is a cow a cat?" "No, she ain't either of them." "Well, den, she ain't got no business to talk like either one er the yuther of 'em. Is a Frenchman a man?" "Yes." "Well, den! Dad blame it, why doan' he talk like a man?"

UNDER A CHANDELIER: The raft floats under a spotlight rigged to a ballroom chandelier, between a flowered settee and a battered piano. The spectators, who sit on both sides of the raft as if they were in fact on the banks of the river, notice neither the settee nor the piano. Jimmy Gavin and Fred Miller of the Folksay Theatre give Huck and Jim their own beguiling youth. That youthfulness makes even East 4th St. seem young.

Contributing vastly to the youthfulness is Will Geer who, with grey hair and soup-strainer moustache, clad in a white linen suit and black bow tie, appears as Mark Twain himself, and now and then as a character out of his own works. He steps from one role to the other with such ease and gusto that it almost seems Twain is writing while you watch, fancying himself in a part—and then stepping aboard the raft, the author and his characters interchangeable.



WILL GEER

BACKWOODS TO THE FORE: The Folksay Theatre is not quite theatre and not quite hootenanny. Fred Hellerman strums a guitar and sits on the piano singing a ballad one moment and the next leaping onto a raft, or staggering into a crossroads store, a somewhat disreputable character out of Erskine Caldwell or Lynn Riggs.

With a slight change of clothing and the addition of a jug of corn likker Don Marye shifts from a N.Y. Times reporter, interviewing Mark Twain, to a wistful reprobate sitting on a stump in the backwoods of a country that, on a Folksay night, seems still young and dusty, with its humor, bottled or jugged, but not canned.

There is a great deal of storming and singing around the little clearing on East 4th St. Well-likkered backwoodsmen lunge at the audience with a hair-raising belligerency and a glorious stream of pre-Disney tall tales of American fantasy.

JINGLE ME A JINGLE: The singing is done by the little cast when they feel like it with the audience joining in. It is sometimes hard to know where the stage ends and the audience begins: My 11-year-old daughter (who may have missed the point in Erskine Caldwell) left the place with Mark Twain and Will Geer intertwined, reciting to herself the jingle that drove Mark Twain and several of his characters hilariously mad:

Conductor, when you receive a fare,
Punch in the presence of the passenjare!
A blue trip slip for an eight cent fare,
A buff trip slip for a six cent fare,
A pink trip slip for a three cent fare
Punch in the presence of the passenjare!

It rang in the clicking wheels of Mark Twain's train. He passed it on to a parson who let it intrude into a funeral oration. It is now heard morning, noon and night in our house.

Will Geer spreads a pleasant infection and you ought to catch it. —**Elmer Bendiner**

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THE FUTURE OF OUR TEACHERS

Must they inform or be fired?

By Elmer Bendiner

GERHARD CASPER, 16, came to the U.S. as a delegate from Germany to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Forum for High School Students. Asked for his view of U.S. schools, he gave this advice to **Strengthening Democracy** (12/54), official publication of the N.Y.C. Board of Education:

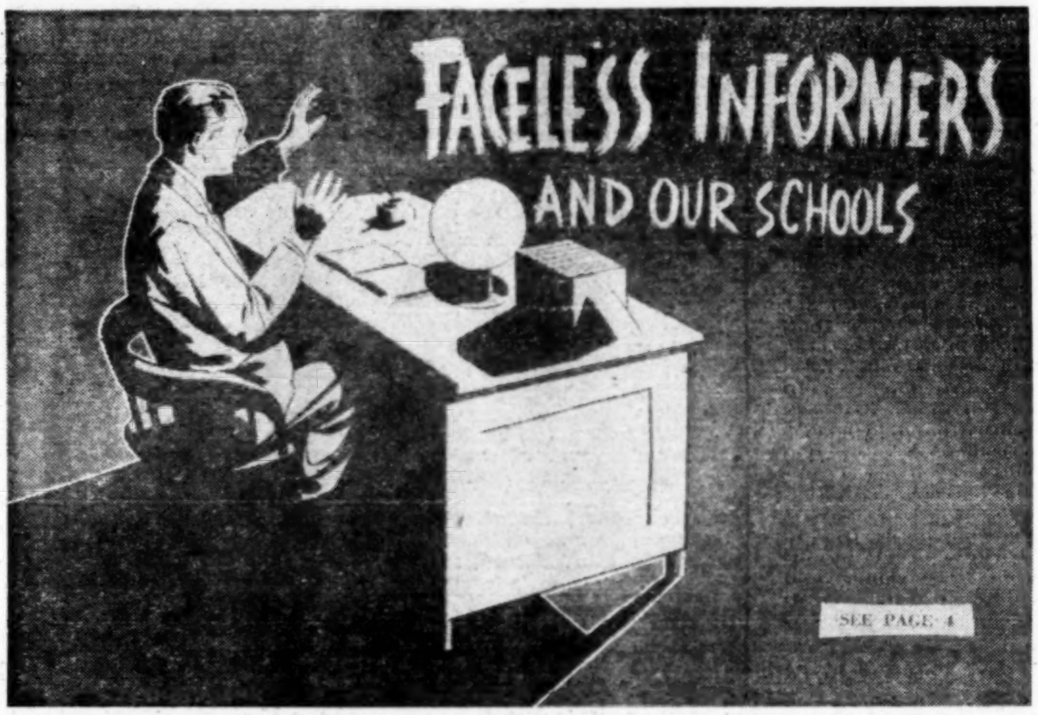
"I am told that in the last years of the Weimar Republic in Germany, Hitler got power by frightening people with the danger from communism. People followed him to be saved from communism, and while we weren't seeing what we were looking at, he took our freedom away. . . . You fear communism but you should also really fear people who try to save you from communism by making you believe that freedom of speech and fair play are dangerous."

Ignoring young Casper's warning, the N.Y.C. Board of Education is about to require that teachers inform on their colleagues or be fired. Only Board member Andrew J. Clauson and Supt. of Schools Jansen stand against the ruling. Other advances down the "save the schools from communism" road are being prepared. The same forces that clamored for the informer qualification, led by the **Tablet**, organ of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, have assailed parent-teacher organizations and others that stand by the principle of separation of church and state.

STARVED PRIESTS: Dean of ex-Communist informers Louis Budenz wrote in the **Tablet** (7/1/53): "This brutal record of exile in slave labor camps, open murders, and death by starvation for priests and bishops in the Ukraine has been accomplished under the specious claim that 'separation of church and state' is guaranteed."

A **Tablet** editorial (3/7/53) charted an attack on parents' associations: "We do not believe the oft-repeated charge that public schools are Godless; but if the Board of Education should succumb to the continued pressure of the United Parents Assns., the schools of New York City would eventually become so."

Public schools are under broader attack, their faculties riddled by an inquisition which defies the basic guarantee of Anglo-Saxon justice: the accused's right to confront his accuser. Lawrence Martin, assoc. editor of the Denver **Post**, called the new pattern the technique of the "faceless informer" and last September and October reported on the inquisition in a state-by-state survey.



THE DENVER POST CRIES A WARNING

The faceless informer in the classroom—this is your FBI

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Man without a face

TAXI PREFERRED: N. Y. Asst. Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff, who has driven some 250 N.Y. teachers from their jobs, told Martin that the accusers who give the tips on which he probes suspected teachers are not anonymous because he knows, though he will not reveal, who they are. Martin asked: "Does any of it (information on suspects) or all of it come from the FBI?"

Moskoff answered: "If it did I wouldn't tell you."

When Martin went to visit Moskoff at Board of Education Headquarters on Livingston St., Brooklyn, his cab driver told him: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here."

The cabbie had been a teacher who once entered that building in response to a summons from Moskoff. He told Martin: "When I came out, I'd had it. They told me I was a communist. They asked me and then they told me. School's out for me. . . . I asked Moskoff who had turned me in. He wouldn't say—told me just to answer his questions. So I told him he had no right to accuse me, or even to quiz me, on such thin grounds as he gave. . . . I made up my mind that if school teaching involved a third degree on my political beliefs, either past or present, I was through. So I quit. . . . The FBI came to see me some months later."

FACELESS SCUTTLEBUTT: Martin tried to track down the faceless informers. N. Y. school officials, many of them upstate, told him off the record that the FBI was the source for most charges. In Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvaia, school officials said they received anonymous tips with the understanding, clear but never in writing, that they came from the FBI. A high California official said information sent him from the Governor's office came from the FBI. The official added: "I'll deny I said it if you quote me."

In Cincinnati an FBI agent paid a "courtesy call" on the city manager, left behind on his desk an unsigned memo relating to a city employe. The employe was fired.

Gov. Thornton of Colorado refused to reveal the source of charges against six teachers, subsequently dismissed. Editor Martin said several "reputable persons" confided that Atty. Gen. Duke Dunbar told them the charges came from the FBI. Dunbar denied he knew where the charges came from. Martin found only two out of hundreds of cases in his nation-wide survey where any evidence was offered of overt acts. The rest were unsupported accusations of "subversive connections," with the broad hint left that if the informer had a face it would be that of the FBI.

"WE CAN'T ANSWER": The Denver **Post** asked Atty. Gen. Brownell these questions: "Has information from the raw files of the FBI been transmitted to state officials and school authorities on the initiative of the Dept. of Justice without being requested by authorized persons? If so does this represent a new policy? Is it the policy of the department to seek extension or application to state and school employes of the security program set up in President Eisenhower's Exec. Order 10450, issued on April 27, 1950?"

Brownell's office sent the **Post** this statement: "We cannot answer your questions."

Most public officials act readily on "faceless" FBI tips, but here and there they meet a closer scrutiny and in some cases an assertion of old-time standards of justice. New York State has its compliant officials but also some who will not be stampeded. "A long-time associate of Gov. Dewey, now in the federal service" told Martin there was "very close cooperation" between the Governor and the FBI "on all kinds of cases." He said Dewey frequently passed FBI tips on to state agencies.

THE UNSTAMPEDED: These, supplemented by accusations from other officials and organizations, flooded school officials throughout the state. They were acted upon only in New York City. No tip from the FBI via Dewey convicted a single upstate teacher. The president of one upstate school board accumulated 200 tips naming 43 teachers mainly during "an epidemic of suspicions and rumors we had here while the Feinberg Law was being debated in the Legislature." He said most "proved to be nonsense. . . . We weren't stampeded by them because we found out that some lobbyists for the Feinberg Law were urging local citizens to build up pressure on the legislature by informing on teachers they suspected were communists."

In Chicago Lester J. Schoerb, assistant for personnel to School Supt. Benjamin W. Willis, was asked what he did with tips that come from the Governor's office. He said: "Nothing. That is to say, we file them." He said some 25 or 30 such tips had come through in recent months. Illinois officials told Martin state laws provided for a full hearing of accused teachers giving them the right to cross-queston all witnesses. I. A. Palmer, administrative asst. to the Supt. of Public Instruction, said:

"You can't use FBI information in such a hearing. . . . If no accuser comes forward and if the local board has no evidence of its own, there is no case."

WHO'S NEXT? In Illinois the informer is at least required to show his face. Over most of the country the faceless accuser looms. The Denver **Post** keynoted its courageous series with a warning editorial:

"Without most of us knowing it, the FBI has become a sort of volunteer guardian of our school system, which by tradition has always been free of federal interference.

"Schoolteachers all across the country are operating under the all-seeing eyes of the FBI. If that can happen surreptitiously and without direct authorization, it is conceivable that within a few years the FBI might be volunteering information on the 'reliability' of preachers, authors, editors, doctors and street sweepers, Socialists, Democrats or Republicans."

That's know-how

ROANOKE, Va. (AP) — At a Civil Defense discussion a woman suggested bomb shelters be erected at every county school.

"Wonderful idea," said another, "they could be used for additional classroom space."

—Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville.

Novelist Killens asks a "new statesmanship"

SPEAKING early this month at an Arista Assembly of Girls High School in Brooklyn, John O. Killens, author of the novel **Youngblood**, said:

"The challenge of today's youth is to come forward tomorrow with a new kind of statesmanship that looks at the world as it really is: a world that contains no race of people superior or backward."

The Assembly was called to admit students into the school's Arista Society, an honor group which selects members for their "character, scholarship and service." Girls High School Arista Society made Killens an honorary member.

---

6 years of service

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Heartiest congratulations on your six years of noble service to the U.S. Your No. 1, Vol. 7, was a fitting monument to this service; every page a jewel of the best thinking we have today. G. Perman

DIFFERENT BUT HOMELIKE
Shaslik, Beef Strogonoff,
Potato Pancakes and other tasty
Russian and American Dishes.
Alex's
69 W. 10th St. (at 6th Av.)
Dinner: $1.35-$2, also a la carte
Open 4-11 p.m. Tues.-Sun.

FRANK GIARAMITA
& SONS TRUCKING CORP.
MOVING • STORAGE
EFFICIENT • RELIABLE
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GR 7-2457

SUSIE SAYS:
"Daddy asked me what I want for Xmas and I said BOOKS from
BOOKFAIR
113 WEST 49 ST., N.Y. 19
NEW LOCATION

799 B'way, Rm. 545 GR 3-5740
MANHATTAN
MIMEO LETTER SERVICE
Quality Work • Quick Service
Mimeograph • Offset • Printing
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Wedding, birth and social announcements —S. A. Jaffe, Prop.

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Center of creative toys & activities
203 W. 14th St. (7 Av.) CH 3-3368
Open Eves. till Xmas

JIM CROW RULES THE AIR

Not one Negro featured as a regular on radio-TV

CHICK WEBB
Some questions were asked

NINETY percent of the radio and TV management in the N. Y. area exercises a "vicious, albeit subtle, form of discrimination against Negro personnel." This is the conclusion of Alvin "Chick" Webb, theatrical editor of the N. Y. Negro weekly **Amsterdam News.** No Negroes, he charges in a series, are regularly featured on network shows; appear as regular members of a panel; have been hired as staff or commercial announcers, or are employed on a policy-making level.

Several of the most famous Negro entertainers appear occasionally as guest artists, but very few are regular performers. Answering a questionnaire Webb sent to all studios, company executives included as Negro performers Amos and Andy, Negro stereotypes played by whites in blackface.

Webb asked: "Is there a reason for restricting Negro artists to one appearance in every 200 shows that are produced over TV channels, a ratio of about half of 1%—when . . . the Negro represents 10% of the purchasing public . . . spends $15 billion a year?"

GUESTS & HONEYCHILES: Who's to blame? Networks blame the advertising agencies who influence sponsors' time-buying policies; agencies say they do not control station policies. An example is Sammy Davis Jr. who, ABC-TV announced, would have his own musical comedy show in 1953. It was postponed and finally dropped, because "either ABC, the sponsors (or both) wanted . . . him to 'honeychile' his presentation to conform to the Negro stereotype." He said no.

Sponsors justify the "vicious circle that limits Negro performers to stints as 'guest artists,'" says Webb, on the theory that the South will not accept "colored" stars as marketable commodities if they are featured as stars of their own shows. He promised another study on the advertiser's and sponsor's role soon.

THE BIG BLANK: Webb's box score of stations shows the following number of regular performing Negro personnel: CBS, 10 in TV, 1 in radio; NBC, 2 (Charity Bailey and Natalie Hinderas) on TV; WABC, 1 in TV; WAAT, 1 in radio; WOR and WABD, none. WPIX, a TV outlet, employs one. The score for radio-only stations is: WLIB (located in Harlem), 9; WOV, 5; WNJR, 4; WWRL, 4; WHOM, 1; WEVD, 1; WINS, WNEW, WNYC, WQXR, WMCA, WPAT, WMGM, WGHF-FM, WVNJ and WFDR-FM, none.

Statistics from the 22 stations replying to Webb's questionnaire show a total of 8,019 office and staff employes, of which only 410 are Negro, much less than 5%. As a result of Webb's series and its repercussions, the Labor and Industry Committee of the N. Y. NAACP branch will hold an action conference Jan. 15, to which policy-making officials from stations are invited.

SPEAK UP: The Co-ordinating Council for Negro Performers, Inc. (15 W. 44th St.), composed of people in and out of the industry, states in a new brochure:

"It would be difficult to show an everyday scene without Negro citizens—except on TV. Television crowds have no Negroes. Negroes do not shop in TV stores or ride on TV subways. This results in the elimination of Negroes from one of our most powerful media of communication and education."

When the Negro "is pictured exclusively as a clown, a buffoon, a stereotype," the Council points out in another report, "we are saying in effect that he is restricted to this position in our American society. . . ." The Council urged people to write their protests to stations producing shows which exclude Negroes or feature them in disparaging roles and situations, and to write in approval when Negroes are presented realistically and fairly. A boycott against products consistently advertised by jimcrow or offensive shows might be the public's final weapon.

Louisville story

(Continued from Page 3)

She said she had attended Communist Party meetings at the Bradens' home on April 22 and July 9, 1954, at which I. O. Ford, another defendant, was present. Braden testified under oath that he was not a Communist. The meetings which she considered Communist were meetings of the Progressive Party or Peace Crusade, Braden said.

TELL IT TO THE MARINES: Also entered as evidence against Braden were books and papers seized in their home while they were in jail; these gave the proceeding a "trial by library book" aspect. In his defense Braden introduced more than 50 books which had been seized but not entered against him to prove that as a writer he found it necessary to have a wide collection of books, both communist and non-communist.

C. R. Graham, librarian of the Louisville Free Public Library, testified that books Braden had from International Publishers were available through the regular publishing channels. Dr. Ernest C. Hassold, head of the English Dept. and Humanities Division at the Univ. of Louisville, testified that the Communist Manifesto was optional reading in courses there, and had been required reading in a course for Marine Corps officers.

THE BRADEN FAMILY
Anne and Carl Braden with their children, Jimmy and Anita.

FORBIDDEN LAW: Concerning three of the pieces entered as evidence against him, Braden testified he had never seen them; that they were not in his home when it was searched. They were a small, clothbound book on the constitution and law of the Soviet Union; **Strategy and Tactics,** published by International, and a "dues letter" which prosecution witnesses said was sent only to "Communist Party functionaries."

A fourth piece of evidence—minutes for the Louisville Peace Crusade meeting of June 15, 1951—Braden said he had not seen since he gave them to the chairman in 1951.

The trial disclosed that two representatives of the House Un-American Activities Committee had spent 10 days in Louisville going over the material.

Spade in hand

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The best thing we could do about Formosa Kai and Korea Rhee is to take them over here. I understand they both have plenty of long green in the Wall Street banks—but should that run out on them, Uncle Sam could guarantee them a job as grave diggers.

R. E. Boe

EXHIBITION OF RUMANIAN PHOTOGRAPHY
DECEMBER 15
TO
JANUARY 15
ART OF TODAY GALLERY
Great Northern Hotel
118 W. 57th St., N. Y. C.
Daily except Sunday, 12-5 p.m.

Folksay Theatre
Tall Tales • Plays • Folksongs
From MARK TWAIN
to LYNN RIGGS
Will GEER • Fred HELLERMAN
and others
NEXT PERF. SAT., DEC. 25
at 8:40 & 11:30 p.m.
At the PALM
85 E. 4th St. (off 2nd Av.)
Adm by Cont. Res. SP 7-2877

TWO SOVCOLOR HITS!
"ADVENTURE IN ODESSA"
"IN THE CIRCUS ARENA"
Spectacular Russian-Chinese circus
STANLEY THEATRE
7th Av., bet. 42 & 41 Sts.

Arrowhead Lodge
Ellenville, New York
FOR A JOYFUL CHRISTMAS and a HAPPY NEW YEAR
Entertainment staff headed by ABE KANEGSON. Painting and Sculpturing Fun • Classes in rumbas & tangos • Social, Folk & Sq. Dancing • Skating, Skiing
CY 3-0168 OR 3-8048
Ellenville 502

2 Holiday Concerts for Children
by Pete Seeger
Animal songs • Cowboys Sailors • Railroads • Game Songs • Singing for all sizes and shapes.
TUES., DEC. 28
2:15 for children under 8
3:45 for children over 8
Barbizon Plaza Theatre,
101 W. 58th St.
Tickets 90c to $2.70 at door or in advance from Intl. Folkways, 113 W. 42d St.

CHRISTMAS EVE
Hootenanny and Dance
Songs of peace, Xmas carols, holiday songs with Herman Autrey, Jackie Berman, Bob Claiborne, Elizabeth Knight, Tony Kraber, Al Moss, Betty Sanders, Jerry Silverman, New Century Dance Group, Jewish Young Folksingers.
fri., dec. 24 — 8:30 p.m.
manhattan center, 34 st. & 8 av.
Tix: $1.25 in adv. (reserved) at bookshops, People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St., WA 9-3907. $1.50 at door.

EAST HOOK
For Xmas and New Year
Skating on our own lake
tobogganing • a roaring fire
fine food • good talk with people you'll like.
LOUIS & SONIA LERMAN
Rd 2, Hopewell Jct., N. Y.
N. Y. C. Phone: CH 3-2729

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ALLABEN HOTEL
Monmouth & 5th Lakewood, N. J.
Tel.: 6-1222
A completely modern hotel with an atmosphere of intimacy and refinement. Fabulous record collection. Library. Entertainment. FREE Ice Skating. Jewish-American cuisine.
Reserve for Christmas Holiday

THEATRE PARTIES
are available for
FOLKSAY THEATRE
VARIETY gives rave review.
Groups of 25 and up.
Write for details.
Folksay Theatre 85 E. 4 St., NYC

THE WOODLANDS
PHOENICIA, N. Y.
Opening Dec. 24 - Jan. 2
Built on the side of a mountain, THE WOODLANDS is unusual in its setting. Wonderful outdoor sports, indoor gaiety. Comfortable accommodations, good food. Tel. BOulevard 8-1461.

BOOKFAIR
Open 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. all this week to help you choose your greeting cards and gift books.
BOOKFAIR
113 WEST 49 ST., N.Y.19
NEW LOCATION

PAUL ROBESON will be there
So, don't miss
FREEDOM'S
4th ANNUAL HOLIDAY
CABARET - DANCE
CELEBRITY CLUB
35 E. 125th St., N. Y. C.
SUN., DEC. 26
7 P.M. to 12 midnight
Floor Show . . . Dancing . . . Fun
Advance admission $1.50; at door $1.75
TABLES: Seating 4—$5 (ringside), $4.50 and $4.
Seating 6—$7, $6.50, $5.50. Seating 8—$8.50.
For Reservations: Freedom Associates, 139 W. 125th St. MO 6-8700

CAMP MIDVALE
MIDVALE, N. Y.
TErhune 5-2160
Cooperative, interracial camp
Start 1955 right! Join your friends at our
GALA NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY
Entertainment by Al Moss and others
Planned activities for the whole weekend
New Year's Eve Party: $2.50 incl.
Roast Duck Dinner. Full Weekend $12.50
(includes everything)

NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA closes its Festival of International Film Classics with **"THE YOUNG CHOPIN"** (Poland), **Dec. 17-19.** Depicting the musical, social and political influences that shaped the composer, the film reproduces much of Chopin's great music, superbly performed. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **A Christmas Pantomime.**

CHILDREN'S XMAS - CHANUKAH PARTY with Santa Clus and The Puppeteers. Singing, games and fun. Children 25c, adults free. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., Sun., Dec. 19, 3 p.m.

SUNDAY FORUM: "Is the Earth Over-Populated? Marxism vs. Malthusianism," with Charles Coe and Albert Prago. Sun., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

BY POPULAR REQUEST
CULTURAL TREAT, Sun., Dec. 19, 8:30 p.m. An evening with Aaron Kramer, poet of the people, reading from his new book of inspiring poems, "Roll the Forbidden Drums." ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Discussion, social hour, free refreshments. Contribution: 60c.

GALA CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY. Sun., Dec. 26, 2:30 p.m. Songs and dances from Africa, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain, U.S. Magic, songs, games. Yugo-Slav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Admission: $1.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

XMAS GIFTS 25 to 50% OFF
Salad Bowls (famous make). Wallets, Compacts, Perfumes, Electric Coffeemaker, Lionel Trains, Steak Sets, Phonos, Pens and Lighters. STANDARD BRAND DIST., 143 4th Av. (13-14 Sts.) GR 3-7819; 1 hour parking or 2 tokens.

LARGE SAVINGS TO GUARDIAN READERS. Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see.
SMILOW THIELLE
856 Lexington Av. (near 64th St.)
MU 6-7308

IT'S SOONER THAN YOU THINK WE MEAN XMAS IS
Make your selection of gifts now in Antique & Diamond Jewelry; Antique & Modern Silverware. Remodel & Repair your old jewelry.
Clara & Irving Gavurin
22 W. 48 St. (Rm. 1103) CO 5-1881

FINE FURS
—Coats and Stoles of every description at $ Savings. Expert REMODELLING or converting to fur-lined cloth coats.
MAX KUPERMAN
214 W 30th St. BR 9-3733

TRIPLE TRACK COMBINATION storm-screen windows and doors. **VENETIAN BLINDS,** table pads, radiator enclosures. **MIRRORS, GLASS TOPS.** Liberal discount to readers.
JOHN KOBLICK
238 Reid Av., Bklyn. GL 2-3024

phyllis
handwrought jewelry, sterling silver; gifts, greeting cards.
175 west 4th street
new york, n. y.
oregon 5-8287
(discount to guardian readers)
10 to 10 p m mon. thru sat.

HI - FIDELITY RADIO - PHONOGRAPHS. Sales, Installation, Service. VECTOR LABORATORIES, 217 3d Av., New York 3, GR 3-7686.

TREMENDOUS SAVINGS
Large selection of adult bedding
Full line of juvenile furniture
FLATBUSH BABY CARRIAGE SHOP
789 Flatbush Av., B'klyn, BU 4-9109

ATTRACTIVE USED RUGS
$20 and up. 27-inch Carpet: green, beige, blue; heavy quality, good condition, $1.95 and up. Furniture and Tacked Down Carpet cleaned on your premises.
Broadway Carpet Service
1968 Amsterdam Av., New York City

CARPET
Phenomenal savings on all famous brands direct from our 8th floor warehouse to you. Investigation will make it worth your while. Courteous and intelligent service is our policy

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For your convenience we are also open on Sundays from 10 to 4.
Expert Installation
RUGCRAFT, INC.
Carpet Warehouse
TR 3-7069 123 W. 64th St.
West of B'way . . FREE PARKING

UNUSUAL GIFTS FOR THE HOME Nationally known handbent glass dishes, slightly imperfect at HALF PRICE. Ceramics, vases, pitchers, imported glassware below wholesale.
Helen Milgrom's Gift Shop
Rm. 404, 2061 B'way (71-72 Sts.) TR 3-8060. Open Mon., Tues., Wed., Sat, 11-5; Thurs., Fri., 11-8. Spec. hours by phone appointment.

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Repairs and Service. Used washers bought and sold.
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SOFA REWEBBED. Relined Springs Retied in your home, Reasonable. Furniture repaired, Remodeled, Custom Slipcovered, Reupholstered. Foam Rubber Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1 HY 8-7887.
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Manhattan and Bronx Only
AARON SCHNEIDERMAN
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MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 years experience. Call ED WENDEL, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET, MULTIGRAPHING, MIMEOGRAPHING
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SPIKE'S MOVING and pick-up service, city and country, short notice or plan ahead. UN 4-7707 (if no answer, call after 6 p.m.). Occasional long distance jobs accepted.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Get the MOST for the LEAST!
Personal and business. Fire, auto, theft, etc., insurance placed.
RENE M. SCHENKER
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CUSTOM CABINET MAKERS
Quality craftsmanship, imaginative design, dependability and low, low prices. Choice of woods and finishes, specializing in Hi-Fi installations. Pictures (25% discount) & Frames. Drawing and estimates FREE. Beran-Orban, 322 E. 23d St. OR 4-6123.

NORMA CATERERS. Now booking that special occasion in temple, home or office. Anywhere in metropolitan area. Phone now for better service in planning Xmas and New Year's cocktail or dinner parties. Hor d'Ouevres at all times. ES 3-9490.

JIMMY'S TRUCKING. Moving and light hauling anywhere. Good service at bargain prices. Also home appliances repaired. ST 9-3262, if no answer call CH 3-7013.

UNWANTED HAIR REMOVED
Permanent
Private
Rapid
Latest Medical Method. Appt. only.
Laura Green CH 2-7119

TIRED OF MAPLE? We make it mahogany Refinishing, repairing and polishing furniture in your home. Estimates free. IN 9-6827.

APT. EXCHANGE

2 LARGE RMS, Bronx, elev., washing machine, nr. IND, IRT, reasonable; for 1 or 2 rm. apt. Manhattan, under $70 mo. Call WE 3-1238, Sat., Sun. afternoon, after 10 p.m. during week.

WANTED TO SUBLET

WORKING COUPLE wants small furnished apt. right now or soon. Please write Box R, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

FURNISHED ROOM FOR RENT

LARGE, ATTRACTIVE to woman. Kitchen privileges, $48; Riverside Dr. & 95th St. Phone AC 2-4470.

APARTMENT WANTED

YOUNG NEGRO ACTOR needs 1½ to 4 rms, steam heat, in Village or midtown area. Up to $80. Will take professional apt. Box C, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

ROOM WANTED

WOMAN, Russian-born, desires room with small adult family or single person. Willing pay or help household duties wholesome cooking. Box D, 17 Murray St., NYC 7.

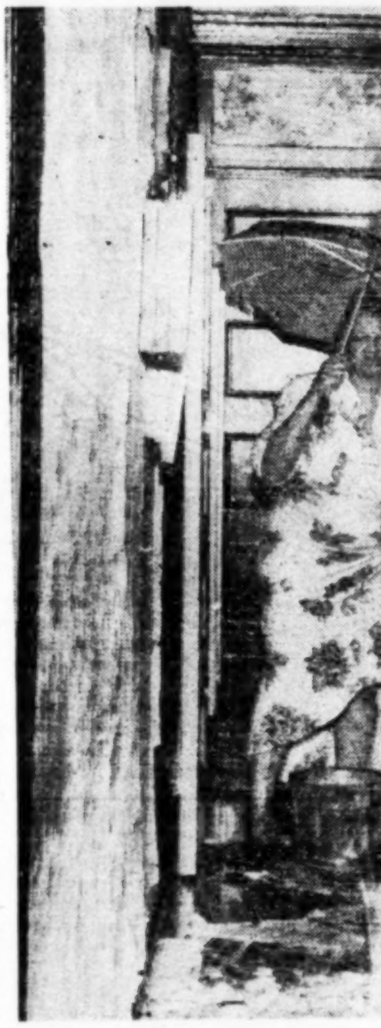
FOR SALE

STARTLED YOUNG LADY finding self in possession beautiful Lucien Piccard wristwatch won on TV show, worth $50 (S.Y.L. already has watch) will sell for $25. Write Box B, 17 Murray St., NYC 7.

Guardian Holiday Greeting Cards are all sold out!

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW . . .

How some live in New York



MRS. CHARLENE CHAPPELLE is shown (right) walking through her hallway at 212 W. 41st St. For the last six months, water has been running steadily down one wall through all five stories of the building, because of corroded and condemned plumbing. One of her neighbors sets the alarm for 3 and 5:30 a.m. so she can get up to empty the pans and pails that catch the flood. Most of the 18 bathrooms are like the one pictured (below); 4 of them are completely unusable. One toilet, which has leaked seven years, flushes in the apartment downstairs. The house smells of rotting timber and moldy plaster. Note the soaked electric wiring, a dangerous fire hazard. Rats skitter in and out of holes in the plaster.

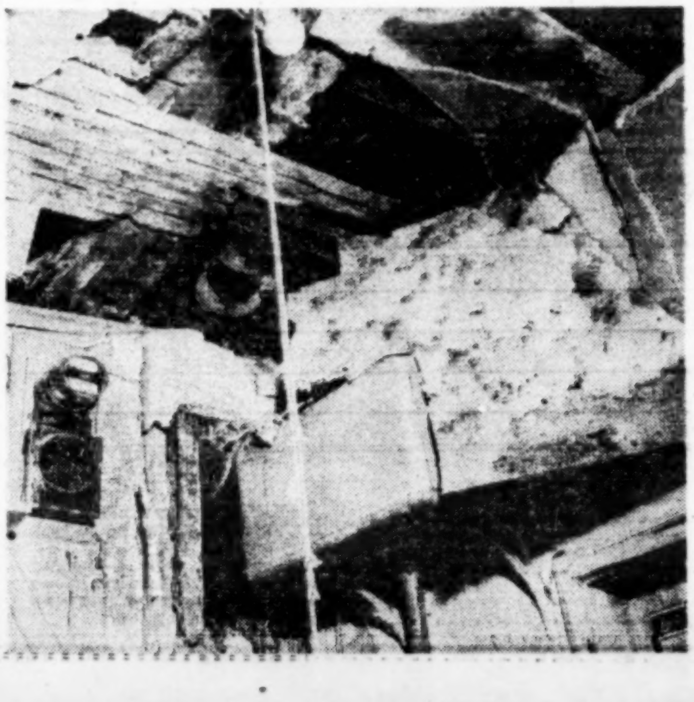
The landlord furnished no heat until mid-November. Then, after a few days, a steam pipe broke. With no heat again, tenants keep their gas ovens burning night and day to keep warm—an invitation to death by asphyxiation. In June, Mrs. Rose Jackson, house vice-chairman, wrote the landlord and the State Housing Commission: "The gas stove in my kitchen leaks so badly that it makes us dizzy and sometimes sick to our stomachs." Recently in desperation she installed her own stove.

Last summer huge pieces of the concrete door frame fell off, narrowly missing children playing on the "stoop." The concrete on the other side of the door is cracked completely across and could topple any day. Mailboxes are broken, and for three years tenants have been trekking to the post office for their letters. Other violations include missing rails on all but two stairs; some hall windows completely out; a splintered back door; a pile of rubbish and rags under the stairs, where vagrants sleep.

Landlord Arnold Schildhaus (Emray Realty Corp., 320 E. 149th St.) says it's not his responsibility to repair. Tenants say he has offered many of them $1,000 to move, threatened: "I'll burn them or flood them out." They recall seven fires in recent years, none of them in a tenant's apartment. They say the landlord wants to get the building condemned so he can evict them and convert to smaller decontrolled apartments.

The State Rent Commission cut rent 50% for violations, but owner Schildhaus made no repairs. When the city's Housing & Buildings Dept. brought him to Magistrate's Court in 1954, he won a delay of several months by demanding to be heard in Special Sessions court. No law exists to save tenants from such delays. Tenant leaders are urging the City Council to draft such a provision while it considers other changes in the Multiple Dwelling Code.

—Ione Kramer



FIRETRAPS, INC.

Powell suggests a rent strike

OVER 500 delegates from nearly 100 organizations shouted their approval of a plan, advanced at the Citizens Emergency Legislative Conference, to end dangerous housing violations. The conference was called by Rep. Adam Powell (D-N.Y.) at Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, Dec. 11. In the week of the conference two Harlem fires killed three, left hundreds homeless.

A delegation from the conference to Housing and Buildings Commr. Gillroy, led by Powell, on Dec. 13 asked for more housing inspectors, stiff fines for landlords who do not correct violations, an end to the system permitting landlords to hire private contractors to inspect their property, and a public information program to let tenants know their rights. The conference agreed to reconvene after Jan. 1 to plan a Harlem-wide rent strike in the spring to force landlords to remove violations.

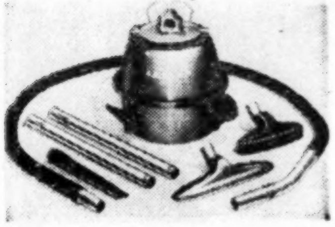
Powell told the conference water pressure in Harlem was so low that firemen had difficulty getting water to the top floor of burning buildings. He reported fires have increased this year to more than 60,000, a loss of $30 million in property values, $6 million more than last year. This year's number of fire casualties has already passed 1953's 165 persons killed and 500 injured.

Fire Commr. Cavanagh last week said a recent inspection of sprinkler systems had found a situation of "peril."

GIFTS FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY

GUARDIAN HOLIDAY BAZAAR

DO YOUR HOLIDAY SHOPPING HERE!



EUREKA VACUUM CLEANER

Rated Best by Ind. Consumer Research Org. for Cannister Cleaners.

No dust bag to empty. 2-4 lbs. lighter than other cleaners. 4 5 HP motor. Adjustable suction. Comes with following attachments: rug nozzle, upholstery nozzle, crevice tool, dust brush, 2 metal adapters and wall brush. Shipped express. (Pay co. shipping charges).

LIST PRICE: $69.95
GBS PRICE: $51.95

STILL AVAILABLE!
TOP-RATED HOUSEWARES AT A SAVING!

REMINGTON "60" SHAVER. List Price, $29.50. **GBS Price: $23.50 ppd.**

GRAND RAPIDS CARPET SWEEPER. List Price, $9.95. **GBS Price: $8.50 ppd.**

HAMILTON BEACH TANK VACUUM CLEANER. List Price, $78.50. **GBS Price: $58.95.** Shipping charges collect.

BORG SCALE. List Price, $7.95. **GBS Price: $5.95** plus 70c postage e. of Miss.; $1.45 w. of Miss.

TRIMBLE BATHINET. List Price, $25. **GBS Price: $17.95.** Shipping charges collect.

EVEREADY POTATO BAKER. ppd. $2.95

COREY ELECTRIC KNIFE SHARPENER. List Price, $14.95. **GBS Price: $12.50 ppd.**

CAMFIELD POP-UP TOASTER. List Price, $23-$24. **GBS Price: $15.95** plus 70c postage e. of Miss.; $1.45 w. of Miss.

MIRRO 4 QT. PRESSURE COOKER. List Price, $13-$14. **GBS Price; $9.50** plus 70c postage e. of Miss.; $1.45 w. of Miss.

HAMILTON BEACH FOOD MIXER, with Juicer. List Price, $42.90. **GBS Price: $33.95 ppd. Without Juicer.** List Price, $38.50. **GBS Price: $30.50 ppd.**

FLINT BEST EGG BEATER. List Price, $4.95. **GBS Price: $3.95 ppd.**

PARKER "21" PEN. List Price, $5. **GBS Price: $3.90 ppd.**

PARKER "21" PEN & PENCIL SET. List Price, $8.75. **GBS Price, $6.75 ppd.**

PARKER "51" PEN. List Price, $15. **GBS Price: $11.50 ppd.**

WATERMAN CRUSADER PEN. List Price, $5.80. **GBS Price: $4.50 ppd.**

IRISH LINEN MEN'S HANDKERCHIEFS

17"x17" .... doz. $5 ppd.

POLISH LINEN DISH TOWELS

18"x33" blue, red or green border........doz. $6.50 ppd.

Special Perfume Offer

65 KING SIZE *Nips* OF FAMOUS PERFUMES

MY SIN
BREATHLESS
BLACK SATIN

NIPS PERFUME TYPER

OVER $7 WORTH
For Only $2.95 ppd.

Never before have so many well-known perfumes been made available in one package. You can test and wear exotic perfumes you have heard about but never worn.

Because these famous perfumes were donated you have the fabulous opportunity of finding the fragrance that's just right for you, for no more than the cost of packaging.

The Nips Perfume Typer is a study kit of perfumes. In addition to 65 King-size Nips are included two books — "McCall's Perfume Guide", and "How To Type" — all packed in a beautiful crystal cigarette case.

A wonderful Gift for Christmas, Birthdays, Hostesses, etc.,

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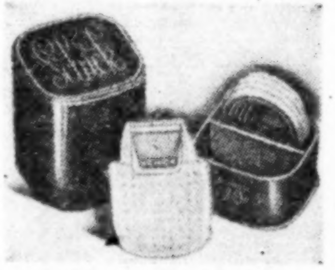

SCHICK "20" SHAVER

Rated best by Ind. Consumer research org. for absense of irritation. Hi-velocity heads. Light weight. High speed. Comes with saddle-stitched caddle case. AC or DC.

List Price	Guard. Price
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New Schick model.

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Czech Linen Tablecloths

Blue Damask. Open-work Design.

52x52 4 Napkins ....ppd. $4.95
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3 Exceptional Educational Toys

child guidance

We heartily recommend these three Child Guidance Toys, for children 4-8.

TURN-A-GEAR: 3 removable gears interlock in many different and interesting patterns. Combines action, color and sound. Develops mechanical aptitude .

TEACH-A-TIME CLOCK: Clock with hands and removable numbers. Numbers will only fit in proper slot on clock. Makes a game of teaching how to tell time.

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All 3 — only $3.95 ppd.

FREE GIFT SERVICE

GBS will gift-wrap and enclose a gift card with any order at no additional charge.

Educational Children's Records

Simon & Shuster "Golden Records"

Here are two sets of records that will offer your child many pleasurable hours. They are performed by leading recording artists under the musical supervision of Mitch Miller of Columbia Records. We have chosen warm, happy songs for their educational as well as entertainment value. The records make a wonderful gift and will be played again and again. The records are unbreakable.

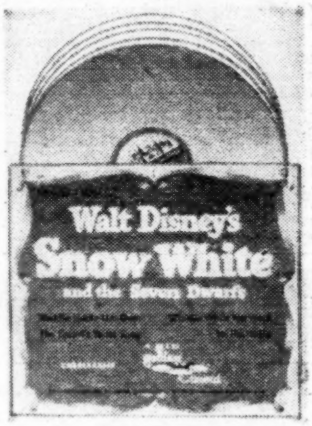
Set — ppd. $4.95

ROOTIE KAZOOTIE'S
MAGIC PARTY
PIED PIPER

SET A
Pre-School Children

- Treasury of Train Songs
- Treasury of Mother Goose
- Treasury of Lullabies
- Rootie Kazootie
- The 3 Little Pigs and The 3 Little Wolves

Set — ppd. $4.95



SET B.
School-Age Children

- Songs from "The Wizard of Oz"
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- Treasury of Folk Songs
- Songs from "Hans Christian Andersen"
- Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer

FREE PREMIUM with the purchase of either set

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Earl Robinson and John La Touche's magnificent American cantata which thrilled millions is done in wonderful style for children. Your child probably does not remember the original records, but he'll never forget this version.

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ALL SOLD OUT!

The complete supply of 1954-55 Guardian Holiday Greeting Cards has been sold. We hope that the thousands who ordered the set are satisfied and are using the cards to celebrate the peace season.

Next year we will present an entirely new set.